ANECDOTES

OF

THE LIFE

OF THE

RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT,

EARL OF CHATHAM.

AND OF

THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF HIS TIME.

WITH

HIS SPEECHES IN PARLIAMENT,

FROM THE YEAR 1736 TO THE YEAR 1778.

SIT MIHI FAS AUDITA LOQUI.——VIRGIL

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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ANECDOTES

AND

SPEECHES.

CHAP. XXX.

Lord Bute resolves to change the Miniſtry again—Diſregards the Duke of Bedford—Tries to gain Lord Temple—Meeting at Lord Eglintoun's—Again tries to gain Lord Temple—Amuſes Lord Temple—Lord Strange's Aſſertion—Lord Rockingham's requeſt—Affair of Dunkirk—Negociation with Mr. Wilkes—Propoſition for the Government of Canada—Diſapproved by the Chancellor, who adviſes the King to ſend for Mr. Pitt.

BEFORE the meeting of Parliament, the new miniſtry having ſhewn an inclination to reverſe the ſyſtem purſued by their predeceſſors; Lord *Bute*, who had been the author of that ſyſtem, took a reſolution to remove them. He was no longer terrified by the threats of impeachment. The Duke of *Bedford* had connived ſo long, his Grace could not now bring forward his menaced accuſation upon any ground or pretence of public principle. He had moreover been recently

CHAP. XXX. 1796.

Lord Bute reſolves to change the miniſtry again.

Diſregards the D. of Bedford.

CHAP. XXX. 1766. recently ftigmatized by violent marks of popular odium*. His Grace was not at this time, in the judgment of the Favourite, an object of dread or refpect.

Tries to gain Lord Temple. Lord Bute's attention at this period, was directed to another nobleman. Since the reconciliation between Lord *Temple* and his brother Mr. *Grenville*, there had commenced a coolnefs between his Lordfhip and Mr. *Pitt*, and between his Lordfhip and Mr. *James Grenville*. They imagined from feveral circumftances, that their brother had fupplanted them in his Lordfhip's favour and confidence. To diffolve all great connexions had been Lord *Bute*'s favourite maxim, from the moment of his acceffion to power. Nothing, therefore, could be more favourable to his project than this family divifion. He refolved to feize the opportunity which this circumftance feemed to offer. Accordingly, a few days after the meeting of Parliament, when Mr. *Pitt* had given the decifion for the repeal of the Stamp Act, by the preceding fpeech (See Appendix U.) which

* By the Spitalfield weavers, who had affembled in multitudes before his houfe. Several partizans of Lord Bute were feen amongft them.

Mr.

Mr. *Grenville* had oppofed, he folicited an interview with Lord *Temple* and Mr. *Grenville*, for the purpofe of forming a new adminiftration. His firft application was to Lord *Eglintoun*, between whom and Lord *Temple* there fubfifted a very warm friendfhip. Lord *Eglintoun* opened his commiffion to Lord *Temple* at Lord *Coventry's*, where they dined on the firft Sunday after the meeting of parliament. The converfation began upon the affairs of America, in which the three Lords agreed in opinion, that a repeal of the Stamp Act would be a furrender of the authority of the Britifh legiflature over the colonies. Lord *Eglintoun* finding that Lord *Temple* was of their opinion, faid to his Lordfhip, " Let us talk no more upon that fubject here, but let us go to your brother.---Has your Lordfhip received no meffage from him?" Lord *Temple* faid, he had not: and in a few minutes after they went to Mr. *Grenville's*. This matter had been more explicitly opened to Mr. *Grenville*, by Mr. *Cadogan*, now *Lord Cadogan*, and Mr. *Grenville* had requefted Lord *Suffolk* to acquaint the Duke of *Bedford* with it. Upon feeing his brother, he inftantly told him, without being afked a

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Meeting at Ld. Eglintoun's.

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queſtion, that an opening had been made to him of an accommodation with Lord *Bute*, and that he wanted to conſult his Lordſhip upon making the Duke of *Bedford* a party to the affair." Lord *Temple* replied, "that he might do as he pleaſed, but that he, himſelf, would have no concern in the matter."

Again tries to gain Lord Temple.

Another channel to Lord *Temple* was then purſued. This was by Mr. *W. G. Hamilton*, who was in the moſt confidential intimacy with his Lordſhip, and who, from the time of the ſeparation of Mr. *James Grenville*, was intended to be his Chancellor of the Exchequer, if ever he accepted of the Treaſury. But Mr. *Hamilton*, knowing his Lordſhip's temper and reſolution, with reſpect to Lord *Bute*, did not warmly recommend the propoſition.

Next day (Monday) Lord *Eglintoun* went to Mr. *Grenville's*, to deſire him to meet Lord *Bute* at his houſe; but Mr. *Grenville* was gone to the Houſe of Commons; upon which Lord *Eglintoun* went there to him; but meeting with Mr. *Stuart Mackenzie*, he incautiouſly told him of the intended meeting,

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ing, and that gentleman immediately informed Lord *Holland*, who ſeeing Lord *Bute* a few moments after, told his Lordſhip, "That he was going to do a very fooliſh thing; but as he had gone ſo far he muſt not ſtop; but give them the meeting, hear what they had to propoſe, and then leave them."

Lord *Temple* called upon his brother juſt as he had returned from the Houſe of Commons. In a minute or two afterwards, Lord *Eglintoun* came in; and being rejoiced to ſee his Lordſhip, begged he would ſtay there ten minutes, while he went home. Lord *Temple* ſaid he could not ſtop ſo long; that he was going to the Houſe of Lords upon particular buſineſs, and it was growing late. Lord *Eglintoun* then deſired he would ſtay only five minutes. This was refuſed: laſtly, he requeſted only three minutes; and this was refuſed alſo. But in the expoſtulation it came out, that it was to meet Lord *Bute*, whom Lord *Eglintoun* ſuppoſed was, by this time, waiting at his own houſe, and he wiſhed to fetch him. At length, preſſing the matter very earneſtly, Lord *Temple* anſwered warmly, *By G—d I will not;*—that

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was his expression, and immediately stepped into his carriage.

The Duke of *Bedford* and Mr. *Grenville* met Lord *Bute* at Lord *Eglintoun*'s. The conference was very short: Lord *Bute* followed Lord *Holland*'s advice---he heard them—and then left them. He afterwards said to Lord *Eglintoun*, that he did not meet the person he wanted to meet (Lord *Temple*) but the person he did not want to meet (the Duke of *Bedford*). Some time afterwards, Mr. *Pitt* mentioned this meeting in the House of Commons. Mr. *Grenville* did not deny it; but said, "That the single proposition made, or point spoken of, was relative to the best means of preventing the intended repeal of the Stamp Act. No other subject was mentioned."

Amuses L. Temple.

Notwithstanding the ill success of this project, Lord *Bute* found means, through one of the Princess's confidants, to amuse Lord *Temple* with assurances, that a *Carte-blanche* would, in a very little time, be offered to him: and this manœuvre was managed so well, he was completely duped by it; he believed the assurances for some time.

The

CHAP. XXX.

1766.

The design was to engage him warmly in the opposition to the repeal of the Stamp Act; and he fell into the snare. Having implicitly adopted the American politics of his brother, the American politics of the Court became an easy, and almost a natural gradation.

During the progress of the bill for the repeal of the Stamp Act, it was strongly insinuated in parliament, that the bill was very far from being agreeable to the King; upon which Lord *Rockingham* asserted, that his Majesty's approbation of the measure was clear and unequivocal. Next day, Lord *Strange* maintained the contrary—that his Majesty highly disapproved of the bill. Lord *Rockingham* was greatly surprised by this explicit declaration from Lord *Strange*; and at his next audience of the King, he requested the honour of his Majesty's opinion in writing; which the King refused to give. This circumstance was an indisputable proof, that notwithstanding the late negotiation had not succeeded, yet his Majesty still withheld his confidence from his present servants. Another change of ministers was doubtless in contemplation; although no

Lord Strange's assertion.

Ld. Rockingham's request.

CHAP. XXX. 1766. freſh applications for that purpoſe were yet made.

However unfortunate theſe miniſters might be in the cloſet, yet they rendered great and important ſervices to the country. Their proceedings and conduct are well known; they are to be found in the public accounts of the time; but there is one meaſure of that adminiſtration which has been very imperfectly ſtated. It is concerning Dunkirk.

Affair of Dunkirk.

This point, of frequent and anxious diſcuſſion, ſeems to have been miſtaken by the Britiſh miniſters, prior and ſubſequent to Lord *Rockingham*. From the peace of Utrecht, in the year 1713, to the month of September 1765, all our demands concerning the demolition of Dunkirk have originated in a wrong principle. We have inſiſted upon levelling the ramparts, upon filling up the cunette, &c. Theſe were immaterial points, to which the French Court conſented, after ſome affected heſitation. The fortifications on the land ſide are of no conſequence to England. It was the harbour alone that ought to have engaged our

our attention. Lord *Rockingham* ſaw this miſtake; in his adminiſtration only, was the demolition of the harbour ſeriouſly attempted: and had he remained a little longer in office, it muſt have been accompliſhed. His demands were directed to the jettees which protect the channel to the harbour, and without which the harbour becomes totally unſerviceable. Theſe jettees are two piers, which project about three quarters of a mile from the harbour into the ſea; and are about twelve feet high from low-water mark: between them is the channel into the harbour. His Lordſhip ordered a breach to be made in the eaſtern jettee, near the middle, ſufficient to admit the ſea. All Dunkirk was inſtantly filled with alarm. They ſaw the ruin of the harbour was inevitable. A few tides made the fact clear. The ſand was driven through the breach with ſuch aſtoniſhing velocity, it was fully manifeſt the channel muſt be entirely choaked in a few days more. Had this breach been made larger, which was intended; and another made lower down towards the ſea, which was alſo intended, the harbour muſt have been ſo effectually rendered uſeleſs, that nothing larger than a row-boat, or a pilot,

could

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could have got into it. The French immediately ſaw the effect of this ſmall breach, and inſtantly put a ſtop to the progreſs of the workmen. The reader is to obſerve, that in all the ſtipulations our Court has made with France, reſpecting Dunkirk, a kind of childiſh deluſion has conſtantly been admitted—this was—the French were to employ their own people to execute our demands, and we were to ſend our ſurveyors to examine and report the ſtate of their operation. Our ſurveyors had no controul over the workmen; and if the French Governor, at any time, chooſe to put a ſtop to their labour, we could not oblige them to reſume their work. The ſurveyors might return to England, and, upon their report, the Britiſh Ambaſſador at Paris was uſually inſtructed to remonſtrate; which commonly produced an evaſive anſwer. The ſurveyors have been ſent back, and the ſame farce has been played over again. In this manner have the negociations concerning Dunkirk been continued, dropped, and revived, from the year 1713. As a proof that Lord *Rockingham* was right in this matter, we need only obſerve the conduct of the French, in this particular, ſince the

treaty

treaty of 1782, by which was ſurrendered all claim and concern reſpecting Dunkirk. Inſtead of repairing the fortifications, on the demolition of which we formerly ſo ſtrenuouſly inſiſted, or opening the cunette, or paying any regard whatever to the land ſide, their whole attention has been directed to *widening, deepening, and enlarging the harbour*. They have made it *capacious, ſafe,* and *convenient*. Thoſe who think Dunkirk a place of no danger to the commerce of London, may find their miſtake in a future day. CHAP. XXX. 1766.

During this adminiſtration, Mr. *Wilkes* returned from France to London; and there was ſome communications between the miniſters and him. The following is Mr. *H. Cotes's* account of this affair; tranſcribed *verbatim* from his own manuſcript. Negociation with Mr Wilkes

" Monday the 12th of May 1766, Mr. *Wilkes* arrived in town from France, with Mr. *Mackleane* (formerly in partnerſhip with Mr. *Stewart*, in a druggiſt's ſtore at Philadelphia). He was very intimate with Mr. *Burke*, through whoſe intereſt he was made Governor of the Iſland of St. Martin.

Mr.

CHAP. XXX. 1766. Mr. *Wilkes* had a lodging at Mr. *Stewart's*, in Holles-ſtreet, Cavendiſh-ſquare. Mr. *Cotes* did not know of his coming till he ſaw the account of his arrival in the Evening-Poſt of Tueſday, at his houſe at Byfleet. He immediately came to town, when he found a note from Mr. *Wilkes*, deſiring to ſee him. He went immediately; when Mr. *Wilkes* acquainted him, that he was come to demand a performance of the repeated promiſes of the miniſters; which he had in writing, viz. to give him a general pardon, five thouſand pounds in caſh, in lieu of what he might receive from an action againſt Lord *Halifax*, and fifteen hundred pounds *per annum*, for forty years, upon Ireland. He ſaid, he had ſeen ſeveral people from the miniſters; they all expreſſed great wrath againſt Lord *Temple* for his ſtrong oppoſition to their meaſures; that he had told them, he had very many and ſingular obligations to Lord *Temple*; and if that was not the caſe, he had ſo great a regard for Lord *Temple's* public and private virtues, that nothing under Heaven ſhould induce him to do any thing that would give that noble Lord a moment's uneaſineſs. He deſired me to communicate this to Lord

Temple,

Temple, and to aſſure him of his beſt reſpects; that he would have waited upon him in perſon, but as he was in an intereſting negociation with the preſent miniſters, he hoped his Lordſhip would excuſe him. I went immediately to Lord *Temple*'s bedſide, and related the above to him. He ſeemed extremely ſatisfied with Mr. *Wilkes*'s conduct, and wiſhed moſt heartily that the miniſters might be as good as their promiſes. He deſired me to convey his kind compliments to Mr. *Wilkes*, and to aſſure him of his friendſhip and approbation of his conduct upon the preſent occaſion: at the ſame time, he told me, that he was very certain that Lord *Rockingham* had not the leaſt intention of ſerving Mr. *Wilkes*, and feared they would deceive him. CHAP. XXX. 1766.

" I ſaw Mr. *Wilkes* next morning, and found Mr. *S. Luttrell** with him. I thought that a good omen for Mr. *Wilkes*, as I knew *Luttrell* to be a friend of Lord *Bute*; and I knew, without that dictator's conſent or approbation, nothing would be done for my poor friend. However, I found afterwards, that *Luttrell* only came upon pri-

* Afterwards Lord *Carhampton*.

vate

CHAP. XXX. 1766. vate bufinefs, Mr. *Wilkes* was extremely well fatisfied with Lord *Temple*'s anfwer to him, but feemed to think he fhould fucceed with the minifters. He continued in the fame fentiments all that week; though I often told him, from the beft and moft authentic information, that I heard they never had fpoke to the King about him, nor dared they do it. I went out of town, as ufual, on Saturday, and returned on Monday; when I found my friend much lowered in his expectation; but faid, he fhould fee Mr. *Fitzherbert* next day, and hoped things would go better. The next day he told me, he had got into a *damn'd fcrape*, and believed he had been deceived, and that my information was true, viz. that the minifters did not intend doing any thing for him; he faid Mr. *Fitzherbert* had afked him, in the name of Lord *Rockingham*, for a *carte-blanche*, to leave it to his Lordfhip to do as he thought proper. To which Mr. *Wilkes* anfwered, that he knew Mr. *Fitzherbert* to be a man of honour, and if the bufinefs was to pafs between them, he fhould have no fort of objection; but wifhed Mr. *Fitzherbert* to recollect, that he himfelf had told him the day before, that Lord *Rockingham*

had

had broke his word with him ten times, and then wifhed Mr. *Fitzherbert* to declare whether he would truft him?

" The next day, (Wednefday), he feemed to have fome more pleafing hopes, having feen Mr. *Rofe Fuller**, Mr. *G. Onflow*, the late Speaker's fon, and Sir *W. Baker*. He then told me, that they had faid the King was poffeffed with a notion, that the minifters had fent for him, on purpofe to embarrafs his affairs, and that it would take time to difabufe the royal ear. I immediately made enquiry after the truth of this affertion, and found it totally void of truth, and that the name of *Wilkes* had never reached the royal ear, by any of his minifters. Of this I informed him.

" I found this day (Friday) that they had preffed him much to go back to France, but that he had abfolutely refufed them; and

* It is an interefting anecdote of this gentleman, that he was violent in oppofition to feveral minifters; particularly on all queftions concerning Britifh liberty, and American policy; and when he died, in the year 1777, it was difcovered he had received a penfion from the Court for many years. His warmth, and apparent zeal, induced every oppofition to admit him into their confidence.

defired,

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desired, I would get him a private lodging in Surrey, near the Thames, to facilitate his escape, in case of necessity. I went next day to Mr. *Jonathan Tyers*, who very genteely offered his house at Dorking, but that was thought to be too far off. I went to Byfleet on Saturday, and left him to go on Sunday and see a house Mr. *Tyers* had provided for him. I offered him Byfleet; but he objected, that it would be too public, and that it would be declaring against the present ministers, as they knew my enmity to them.

" On my return on Tuesday, I found he had given over all hopes of success from the ministers, and desired I would see *Philips*, (his Solicitor), and Messrs. *Glynn* and *Dunning*, to consult what was proper to be done, previous to his surrender on the Friday following (the first day of Term), as he was firmly resolved to stand all chances; and said, he had told Messrs. *Burke* and *Fitzherbert*, that he had taken that resolution, and that if they wanted to see a steadier man than him, they must go to Corsica to find one.

" I ap-

"I appointed *Philips* to meet at Mr. *Wilkes's* next day, in the evening, and we went to Serjeant *Glynn's* houſe, in Bloomſbury-ſquare, who was ſo obliging as to accompany us to Mr. *Wilkes*, and ſtayed there the whole evening. Our diſcourſe ran upon the means to be taken, either to appear perſonally, or by attorney, to reverſe the outlawry; but as the Serjeant had not conſidered of the matter, the conſultation was deferred until next morning, when Mr. *Dunning* was to meet. CHAP. XXX. 1766.

"I found Sir *W. Baker* and Mr. *Fitzherbert* at Mr. *Wilkes's* door, next morning, going into Sir *William's* chariot; who ſaid to me, "That he was going upon an embaſſy for my friend within doors." I found Meſſrs. *Glynn* and *Dunning* in the dining-room with Mr. *Wilkes* and *Philips*, and a good deal of diſcourſe upon the proceedings upon writs of error, &c. paſſed; but Mr. *Wilkes* was deſirous to ſuſpend any reſolution being taken, until the return of Sir *W. Baker* and Mr. *Fitzherbert*, which happened in about two hours; when after a long converſation with them, and Lord *Rockingham's* Secretary, Mr. *Burke*, who

 came

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came with them, Mr. *Wilkes* came up ſtairs and told us, that as he could not reverſe his outlawry, either by error, or appearance, until November Term, and as he did not chuſe to ſurrender and lie in priſon all that time, he had determined to go abroad again. He told me, that they had not given him any money, nor would Lord *Rockingham* make him any promiſe; and that he had been forced to borrow one hundred pounds of Mr. *Fitzherbert*, as a private friend. He had received one hundred and thirty pounds before, from the ſubſcription of one thouſand pounds *per annum* promiſed by the miniſtry, of Mr. *Fitzherbert*: which made the whole received of this boaſted affair, ſix hundred and thirty pounds for the year 1765. Mr. *Wilkes* ſaid, he would certainly come in November, and take his chance.

" Sir *W. Baker* aſked Lord *Rockingham* what he intended to do for Mr. *Wilkes*? Lord *Rockingham* anſwered, Mr. *Wilkes* muſt truſt to his honour. Sir *W. Baker* ſaid, he would certainly have no objection to do that, but thought that ſomething ſhould be mentioned of his intentions; that if his Lordſhip would give his honour to inter-

cede

cede with the King for his pardon, or do any thing elſe in his power for his ſervice, he would acquaint Mr. *Wilkes*, who would be ſatisfied with reſpect to time, &c. But as to truſting to his Lordſhip's honour at large, he would conſtrue that as a neglect of Mr. *Wilkes*; and ſhould acquaint him, that he had nothing to expect from his Lordſhip; and that he ſhould look upon this as a ſlight of himſelf. And deſired that Mr. *Burke* might go with him to Mr. *Wilkes*, to whom he delivered the above meſſage."

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In a few days afterwards, Mr. *Wilkes* returned to France. When the peace of the American colonies had been ſettled, the miniſtry took into conſideration the ſtate of Canada; for which great province the late miniſters had provided no conſtitution. This defect they conceived it neceſſary to ſupply. And for this purpoſe, they drew the outlines of a plan of government, preparatory to a bill. This plan, or principal features of one, was ſubmitted to the Chancellor (Lord *Northington)*, who, ſo far from approving of it, or offering to cor-

Returns to France.

Propoſition for the government of Canada.

Diſapproved by the Chancellor.

CHAP. XXX. 1766. rect it, condemned the whole meaſure in the moſt violent terms of indignation and intemperance. It is to be obſerved, that the Chancellor had never been cordially their friend; and he ſeemed eagerly to ſeize this opportunity of expreſſing his diſlike. His manners were not of the moſt gentle kind, nor was his language very poliſhed, whenever he indulged in his natural diſpoſition of reproach; harſh and bitter, vulgar and brutal, were epithets frequently applied to his character by many of thoſe whoſe intercourſe with him gave them a perfect knowlege of his language and manners. And, perhaps, upon no event in his life, they were more juſtly merited than the preſent. He went to the King, and complained to his Majeſty of the unfitneſs of his ſervants: he told the King, in terms of the utmoſt plainneſs, that the preſent miniſters could not go on, and that his Majeſty muſt ſend for Mr. *Pitt.*

Who adviſes the King to ſend for Mr. Pitt.

It is eaſy to conceive, from the oppoſition the miniſters had met with, as well in parliament as at court, that this advice was

was agreeably received. In conſequence of it, his Majeſty commiſſioned the Chancellor to confer with Mr. *Pitt* on the ſubject of a new arrangement. CHAP. XXXI. 1766.

CHAP. XXXI.

Lord Northington opens his negociation with Mr. Pitt.—Duke of Grafton reſigns.—Several Perſons refuſe Places.—An Eighteen Days Journal.—Mr. Pitt ſees the King.—Lord Temple ſent for, and goes to the King.—Conference between Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple, at Hampſtead.—They differ and ſeparate.—Lord Temple has an Audience of the King.—Returns to Stowe.—Mr. Pitt created Earl of Chatham.—His extraordinary Grants.—Mr. Townſhend, Manager of the Houſe of Commons—Several Perſons refuſe Places.—Lord Rockingham refuſes to ſee Lord Chatham.—Mr. Stuart Mackenzie reſtored.—Lord Chatham not united with Lord Bute.

LORD NORTHINGTON opened his negociation with Mr. *Pitt*, through the channels of the Duke of *Grafton*, and Mr. *Calcraft*. Mr. *Pitt* was at that time at his new eſtate in Somerſetſhire; from which place he was ſent for. He arrived in London on the eleventh of July; and the

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ſame evening he had a conference with Lord *Northington*.

Duke of Grafton reſigns.

The Duke of *Grafton* had lately reſigned his office of Secretary of State, and attached himſelf to Mr. *Pitt*: this attachment he had publicly avowed in the Houſe of Lords*. When it was indiſputably clear, that Lord *Rockingham's* adminiſtration was not honoured by the countenance and ſupport of Mr. *Pitt*, not only the Duke of *Grafton*, but ſeveral other perſons† refuſed to contribute their aſſiſtance; from an apprehen-

* His Grace ſaid in the Houſe of Lords, 'That he had no objection to the perſons, or to the meaſures of the miniſters he had recently left; but that he thought they wanted ſtrength and efficiency to carry on proper meaſures with ſucceſs; and that he knew but one man who could give them that ſtrength and ſolidity (*meaning Mr. Pitt*); that under him, he ſhould be willing to ſerve in any capacity, not only as a General Officer, but as a Pioneer, and would take up a Spade and a Mattock.'

† Lord *Shelburne* refuſed the Board of Trade, and Colonel *Barre*, Vice Treaſurer of Ireland.

His Lordſhip refuſed alſo the Embaſſy to Paris.

Lord *North* refuſed the Exchequer, alſo Vice Treaſurer of Ireland.

Lord *Townſhend* refuſed to go to Paris or Madrid.

Lord *Egmont* refuſed the Seals reſigned by the Duke of *Grafton*.

Lord *Hardwicke* refuſed them likewiſe.

Lord *Lyttleton* refuſed a cabinet ſituation.

ſion,

ſion, that a new adminiſtration would in a ſhort time be appointed, of which, each man flattered himſelf with becoming a part, under the idea of forming a more comprehenſive ſyſtem. Nobody doubted the honour and integrity of Lord *Rockingham*: it was even admitted, that his adminiſtration had been regulated, and conducted on the pureſt principles of patriotiſm; yet there was not virtue enough in the country to ſupport him.

Thoſe who aſſert that Lord *Bute* was not conſulted, nor gave any advice upon this occaſion, muſt forget all the preceding facts ſince the death of *George* the *Second*; and muſt deny his nocturnal viſits, at this time, to the King's mother at Carlton Houſe *.

* *An eighteen days faithful Journal, ending a few days previous to the miniſter's ſhaking hands in the year* 1766.

Tueſday, June 24, 1766. From Audley-ſtreet, the Favourite ſet out about one o'clock, in a poſt-coach and four, for Lord *Litchfield*'s at Hampton Court, and came home again at ten at night; went out directly after in a chair to Miſs *Vanſittart*'s, maid of honour to P. D. of W. in Sackville-ſtreet; ſtaid there but a very little while, and then went to Carlton-houſe, and returned home about twelve o'clock.

Wedneſday 25. From Audley-ſtreet, the Favourite ſet out in a chair at half paſt ſix in the evening, went into Sackville-ſtreet, as before,

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Lord *Northington* did not indeed begin his negociation with Mr. *Pitt*, under the imme-diate

before, ſtaid there till paſt ten, then went to Carlton-houſe, and returned home about twelve.

Thurſday 26. From ditto, the Favourite ſet out at half paſt ſix in the evening in a chair, went into Sackville-ſtreet as before, ſtaid there till ten, then went to Carlton-houſe, and came home at twelve.

Friday 27. At ſeven this morning the Favourite ſet out from Audley-ſtreet, for his ſeat in Bedfordſhire.

Sunday 29. The Earl returned from Bedfordſhire this day to dinner; ſet out as before at a quarter paſt ſix for Sackville-ſtreet, ſtaid there till about ten, then went to Carlton houſe, and came home at twelve.

Monday 30. From Audley-ſtreet, the Favourite ſet out in a chair a quarter paſt ſix, went into Sackville ſtreet, ſtaid there till about ten, then went to Carlton-houſe, and came home as uſual at twelve.

Tueſday, *July* 1. From ditto, at half paſt ſix, in a chair to Sackville ſtreet, ſtaid there till ten, then to Carlton houſe, and thence home at twelve.

Wedneſday 2. From ditto, ditto, ditto, and ditto.

Thurſday 3. At ſix this morning, the Favourite ſet out from Audley-ſtreet for his ſeat in Bedfordſhire.

Saturday 5. The Favourite returned to Audley ſtreet from ditto this day to dinner; at half paſt ſix went to Sackville ſtreet, ſtaid there as uſual till about ten, then to Carlton-houſe, and afterwards came home about twelve.

Sunday 6. At half paſt ſix to Sackville-ſtreet as uſual, about ten to Carlton-houſe, and home at twelve as before.

Monday 7. At three quarters paſt ſix to Sackville ſtreet as uſual, about ten to Carlton-houſe, and home at twelve.

Tueſday 8. At half paſt ſix to Sackville-ſtreet, about ten to Carlton-houſe, and home at twelve.

Wedneſday 9. At half paſt ſix to Sackville-ſtreet, about ten to Carlton-houſe, and home at twelve.

Thurſday

diate and perſonal directions of Lord *Bute*, CHAP. XXXI. 1766.
but Lord *Bute*'s influence pervaded through a higher channel.

Lord *Northington* offered Mr. *Pitt* a *Carte-blanche*. Although Mr. *Pitt* did not diſpute his Lordſhip's authority or veracity, in making this offer, yet he wiſhed to have it confirmed by the King. Mr. *Pitt* was introduced to the King at Richmond. The conference was very ſhort. His Majeſty confirmed the offer made by his Chancellor; and added, that he had no terms to propoſe. He put himſelf into his (Mr. Pitt's) hands*. This

Thurſday 10. This morning at ſeven the Favourite and his lady ſet out from Audley-ſtreet for Bedfordſhire.

Saturday 12. Returned this day from Bedfordſhire to dinner, and, being Lord *Mount Steuart*'s birth-day, he went out at *eight* this evening to Sackville-ſtreet, ſtaid there till paſt ten, then went to Carlton-houſe, and returned home about twelve.

Sunday 13. At half paſt ſix to Sackville-ſtreet, ſtaid there till paſt ten, then to Carlton-houſe, and home at twelve.

Monday 14. At half paſt ſix to Sackville-ſtreet, ſtaid there till ten, then to Carlton-houſe, ſtaid there till paſt twelve, and then returned home.

N. B. The curtains of the chair from Audley to Sackville-ſtreet, were conſtantly drawn, and the chair taken into the houſe.

* The King had ſo often entreated Mr. *Pitt* to enter into his ſervice, Mr. *Pitt* frankly acknowledged to Mr. *Calcraft* he could reſiſt the entreaties no longer; and beſides, he ſaid, they were made in a manner ſo preſſing and affecting, no perſon ſuſceptible of

CHAP. XXXI. 1766. This was on Saturday the 12th of July *. In the evening Mr. *Pitt* had another conference with the Chancellor, and afterwards with General *Conway*, with whom he settled the principal arrangements. Next day (Sunday) the Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, sent for Lord *Temple*, who was at Stowe, in Buckinghamshire. His Lordship came to town on the fourteenth. Next morning he waited upon the King at Richmond, before he saw Mr. *Pitt*. The King acquainted his Lordship with the offer that had been made to Mr. *Pitt*; and added, that he expected his Lordship would assist Mr. *Pitt* in forming the arrangements. Next day, which was the 16th, "† his Lordship

Ld. Temple sent for.

of feeling for the distress of the country, could remain obdurate. To this *art* Mr. *Yorke* also fell a sacrifice, in the month of January, 1770. See Chapter XXXV.

* *Vide* the dates, of the last three days, of the preceding eighteen days journal.

† This account of the conference between Mr. *Pitt* and Lord *Temple* at Hampstead, and the subsequent audience of the King, are taken from a pamphlet called *An Enquiry*, &c. Lord *Chesterfield*, in his letters to his son, says, this pamphlet was written by Lord *Temple*. But his Lordship was mistaken. The pamphlet was written by Mr. *Humphry Cotes*, assisted by another person. It is, however true, that the particular facts, stated in this account of the conference and of the audience, were communicated by Lord *Temple*, in conversation, to Mr. *Cotes*; who, without Lord *Temple*'s participation, caused them to be published.

received

received a very affectionate letter from Mr. *Pitt*, then at North End, Hampstead, desiring to see his Lordship there, as his health would not permit him to come to town. His Lordship went; and Mr. *Pitt* acquainted him, that his Majesty had been graciously pleased to send for him, to form an administration; and as he thought his Lordship '*indispensable*,' he desired his Majesty to send for him, and put him at the head of the Treasury; and that he himself would take the post of Privy Seal. Mr. *Pitt* then produced a list of several persons, which he said, *he* had fixed upon to go in with his Lordship; and which, he added, was not to be altered. Lord *Temple* said, that he had had the honour of a conference with his Majesty at Richmond the evening before, and that he did not understand, from what passed between them, that Mr. *Pitt* was to be *absolute master*, and to form *every part* of the administration; if he had, he should not have given himself the trouble of coming to Mr. *Pitt* upon that subject, being determined to come in upon an *equality* with Mr. *Pitt*, in case he was to occupy the most responsible place under government. And as Mr. *Pitt* had chosen only a *side-place*, without any

Conference between Mr. Pitt and Ld. Temple at Hampstead.

CHAP. XXXI. 1766. any reſponſibility annexed to it, he ſhould inſiſt upon ſome of his friends being in the cabinet offices with him, and in whom he could confide: which he thought Mr. *Pitt* could have no objection to, as he muſt be ſenſible he could not come in with honour, unleſs he had ſuch nomination; nor did he deſire, but that Mr. *Pitt* ſhould have his ſhare of the nomination of *his* friends. And his Lordſhip added, that he made a *ſacrifice* of his brother Mr. *G. Grenville*, who, notwithſtanding his being entirely out of place, and excluded from all connection with the intended ſyſtem, would nevertheleſs give *him* (Lord *Temple*) all the aſſiſtance and ſupport in his power: that it was an idea to conciliate all parties, which was the ground that had made Mr. *Pitt*'s former adminiſtration ſo reſpectable and glorious, and to form upon the ſolid baſis of *union*, an able and reſponſible adminiſtration; to brace the relaxed ſinews of government, retrieve the honour of the crown, and purſue the permanent intereſt of the public: but that if Mr. *Pitt* inſiſted upon a ſuperior dictation, and did not chuſe to join in a plan deſigned for the reſtoration of that *union*, which at no time was ever ſo neceſſary, he deſired the

the conference might be broke off, and that Mr. *Pitt* would give himſelf no further trouble about him, for that he would not ſubmit to the propoſed conditions. CHAP. XXXI. 1766.

" Mr. *Pitt*, however, inſiſted upon continuing the conference; and aſked, who thoſe perſons were whom his Lordſhip intended for ſome of the cabinet employments? His Lordſhip anſwered, that one in particular was a noble Lord of approved character, and known abilities, who had laſt year refuſed the very office now offered to him (Lord *Temple*) though preſſed to it in the ſtrongeſt manner, by the Duke of *Cumberland* and the Duke of *Newcaſtle*; and who being their common friend, he did not doubt Mr. *Pitt* himſelf had in contemplation. This worthy and reſpectable perſon was Lord *Lyttleton*. At the concluſion of this ſentence, Mr. *Pitt* ſaid, Good God! how can you compare him to the Duke of *Grafton*, Lord *Shelburne*, and Mr. *Conway*? Beſides, continued he, *I* have taken the Privy Seal, and he cannot have that. Lord *Temple* then mentioned the poſt of Lord Preſident: upon which Mr. *Pitt* ſaid, that could not be, for he had engaged the Preſidency: but, ſays he, Lord

Lyttle-

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Lyttleton may have a penſion. To which Lord *Temple* immediately anſwered, that would never do; nor would he ſtain the bud of his adminiſtration with an accumulation of penſions. It is true, Mr. *Pitt* vouchſafed to permit Lord *Temple* to nominate his own Board; but at the ſame time inſiſted, that if two perſons of that board (*T. Townſhend* and *G. Onſlow*, Eſqrs.) were turned out, they ſhould have a compenſation, i. e. *penſions*.

"Mr. *Pitt* next aſked, what perſon his Lordſhip had in his thoughts for Secretary of State? His Lordſhip anſwered, Lord *Gower*; a noble lord of great alliance; and in whom he hoped to conciliate and unite a powerful party, in order to widen and ſtrengthen the bottom of his adminiſtration, and to vacate even the idea of oppoſition; thereby to reſtore unanimity in Parliament, and in the public. To this his Lordſhip added, that he had imparted his deſign to Lord *Gower*, nor did he know whether that noble Lord would accept of the place*;

* Lord *Temple* afterwards wrote to Lord *Gower*, to excuſe the mention he had made of his name.

but

but he mentioned it now, only as a comprehenſive meaſure, to attain the great end he wiſhed, of reſtoring unanimity by a reconciliation of parties; that the buſineſs of the nation might go on without interruption, and become the only buſineſs of parliament. But Mr. *Pitt* rejected this propoſal, evidently *healing* as it appeared, by ſaying, that he had determined Mr. *Conway* ſhould ſtay in his preſent office, and that he had Lord *Shelburne* to propoſe for the other office, then held by the *Duke* of *Richmond;* ſo that there remained no room for Lord *Gower*. This Lord *Temple* ſaid, was coming to his firſt propoſition of being ſole and abſolute dictator, to which no conſideration ſhould ever induce him to ſubmit. And therefore he inſiſted upon ending the conference; which he did with ſaying, That if he had been firſt called upon by the King he ſhould have conſulted Mr. *Pitt*'s honour, with regard to the arrangement of miniſters, and have given him an equal ſhare in the nomination; and that he thought himſelf ill-treated by Mr. *Pitt*, in his not obſerving the like conduct."

They differ.

And ſeparate.

Here the conference ended.

Next

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Next day Lord *Temple* had an audience of the King in the closet; when his Lordship told his Majesty, in substance, "That Mr. *Pitt's* terms were of such a nature, he could not possibly accept of them consistently with his honour: that he had made a sacrifice of his brother to Mr. *Pitt's* resentment, in order to accommodate with him; but that gentleman insisted upon bringing in a set of men, some of whom were personal enemies to his Lordship, and with whom he had differed upon the most essential points of government; and would not permit him to name one friend for the cabinet, in whom he had an entire confidence: and had assumed a power to himself, to which his Lordship never could submit; for if he did, the world would say, with great justice, that he went in like a child, to go out like a fool. That his wish was to retrieve the honour of the nation by an administration formed upon a broad bottom, and composed of men of the best abilities, without respect to party, which his principal view was to extinguish; in order that the whole attention of parliament might be confined to the great objects of national concern. That he had never been a suitor to his Majesty either

either for himſelf or his friends, for any place of honour or emolument; he did not even ſeek the preſent offer; yet he was extremely willing to ſacrifice his own peace and leiſure, to the ſervice of his Majeſty and the country, provided he could do it with honour; but that, he added, was in his own diſpoſal, and he would not make a compliment of it to any man. CHAP. XXXI. 1766.

"In the evening (of the ſame day) the noble Lord told Lord *Northington*, that the farce was at an end, and the maſque was off; his Lordſhip need not have ſent for him from the country, for there was no real wiſh or intention to have him in the adminiſtration."

Lord *Temple* returned to Stowe. The natural diſpoſition of this noble Lord, was the moſt amiable that can be conceived, to his friends; but when offended, his diſapprobation was warm and conſpicuous—his language flowed ſpontaneonſly from his feelings; his heart and his voice always correſponded. With ſuch a temper, it was not probable that the cauſe of his ſeparation And returns to Stowe.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S S[illegible]

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from Mr. *Pitt* would either be concealed, or indifferently expreſſed.

Mr. Pitt created Earl of Chatham.

Mr. *Pitt* having made choice of the office of Privy Seal for himſelf, was neceſſarily created a peer This was announced to the public, in the London Gazette in the following words——'*St. James's, July* 30. The King has been pleaſed to grant unto the Right Honourable *William Pitt*, and his heirs male, the dignity of a Viſcount and Earl of Great Britain, by the name, ſtyle and title of Viſcount *Pitt*, of Burton-Pynſent, in the county of Somerſet, and Earl of Chatham, in Kent.'—A liſt of the perſons, to whom his Lordſhip diſtributed the offices of State, may be ſeen at the end of the work*. Although he continued Mr.

* But the following extraordinary grants are proper to be mentioned here.—Having made Lord *Northington* Preſident of the Council, it was ſtipulated, that whenever his Lordſhip ſhould reſign that poſt, he ſhould receive during his life a penſion of 4000l.

Alſo the reverſion of the Hanaper was ſecured to him for two lives, after the demiſe of the Duke of *Chandos*; ſalary ſuppoſed to be per annum 1350l.

The reverſion of a Teller of the Exchequer for Lord *Camden's* ſon. Salary about per annum 3500l.

A pen-

Mr. *Conway*, in his poſt of Secretary of State, yet he gave the management of the Houſe of Commons to Mr. *Townſhend;* and Lord *Granby* was put at the head of the army. Before Lord *Chatham* had finally ſettled his arrangements, he made ſeveral offers to different perſons of great weight and conſideration, with a view of ſtrengthening his miniſtry, and of detaching them from their friends. But that ſuperiority of mind, which had denied him the uſual habits of intercourſe with the world, gave an air of auſterity to his manners, and precluded the policy of a convenient condeſcenſion to the minutiæ of politeneſs, and faſcinating powers of addreſs. He made an offer of Secretary of State to Lord *Gower*, whom he had refuſed, when propoſed for that office by his brother. He made offers

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Mr Townſhend has the Houſe of Commons.

A penſion to Lord *Camden* on the Iriſh Eſtabliſhment, in caſe he ſhould loſe his poſt of Lord Chancellor before there is a vacancy in the Exchequer for his ſon; per annum 1500l.

A penſion to Col. *Ligonier* for life, on England; per annum 1500l.

A ſurrender of the borough of Orford to Lord *Hertford*——

Mr. *Stanley* appointed Ambaſſador to Ruſſia, but never went—

Lord *Briſtol* appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but never went——

An additional penſion to Prince *Ferdinand*, on the Iriſh Eſtabliſhment, per annum 2000l.

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to Lord *Scarborough*, Mr. *Dowdeſwell* and ſeveral others. But in ſuch terms of hauteur, as ſeemed to provoke, though unintentionally; the neceſſity of refuſal*. They were all rejected. He then waited upon Lord *Rockingham*, at his houſe in Groſvenor-ſquare; but Lord *Rockingham*, who was at home, refuſed to ſee him.—Theſe circumſtances chagrined him conſiderably. He now found, for the firſt time in his life, that ſplendid talents alone were not ſufficient to ſupport the higheſt ſituations; that the government of a party and the government of a nation, were as diſtinct in their features as in their principles. He now felt the loſs of his brother, Lord *Temple*, whoſe gracious affability procured him the eſteem of all ranks of people, while the ſplendor of his own talents commanded their admiration. Theſe two great men united, made a hoſt againſt the world; but when ſeparated, they became the inſtruments of two factions; both of them without intending it, and for ſome time without perceiving it: Lord

Several perſons refuſe places. Ld. Rockingham refuſes to ſee Ld. Chatham.

* To the firſt, an abrupt meſſage was ſent, 'That he might have an office if he would.' To the ſecond, 'That ſuch an office was ſtill vacant.' To a third, 'That he muſt take ſuch an office or none.'

Chatham

Chatham of the court, and Lord *Temple* of the oppoſition.

Reſtoration of Mr. Mackenzie.

One of the firſt acts of Lord *Chatham's* adminiſtration, was the reſtoration of Mr. *Stuart Mackenzie*.—He did this in the handſomeſt manner poſſible.—When Mr. *Mackenzie* was firſt appointed to the *ſinecure* of Privy Seal for Scotland, he was honoured with the royal aſſurance, that he ſhould enjoy the place for his life. But the Duke of *Bedford* had obliged his Majeſty to break his promiſe in the year 1765, in order to convince the nation, that he (the Duke) was not under the influence of Lord *Bute*. Lord *Chatham* thought this removal ſuch a flagrant violation of the royal promiſe that he made this reparation of the King's private honour one of the firſt acts of his miniſtry without regarding the unpopularity of the meaſure. This circumſtance indiſputably proves, that Lord *Chatham* was not unfavourably diſpoſed to the King's friendſhips, nor even to his partialities.—And if we reflect a moment upon the great political talents of his Lordſhip, and the wonderful effects of his return to office in the year 1757, we may ſafely ſay, that

CHAP. XXXI. 1766. that every public intereſt, and every private attachment might have been at this period, as harmoniouſly arranged, and would probably have been honoured with equal ſucceſs, and ſupported by ſimilar unanimity, *had he found the ſame fidelity in the cloſet.*

The reſtoration of Mr. *S. Mackenzie*, the fact of his own peerage, and his ſudden difference with Lord *Temple*, gave cauſe and credit to a ſuſpicion, which all the minions of the court aſſiduouſly encouraged and circulated, and which in a ſhort time prevailed throughout the kingdom—*That the Earl of Chatham had joined the Earl of Bute.* However ſtrong the appearances were, it is certainly true, that the ſuſpicion was unfounded, What was ſaid of Lord *Rockingham*, on a ſimilar cauſe of ſuſpicion might with equal veracity be ſaid of Lord *Chatham*—' That with the Earl of *Bute* he had no perſonal connection, nor correſpondence of council; he neither courted him, nor perſecuted him.'*

Ld. Chatham is not united with Lord Bute.

* By Mr. *Burke*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

Embargo on the Exportation of Corn—State of Parties—Conference between Lord Chatham and the Duke of Bedford at Bath—Conference between Lord Chatham and Lord Edgcumbe—Its consequences—The Admiralty offered to Lord Gower—Conduct of the Court—Second Conference with the Duke of Bedford—Breaks off.

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THERE never was known in England so wet a summer as that of this year. From the month of March to the month of August, there were not successively two fair days. This uncommon season injured the corn harvest prodigiously. Towards the end of the summer, when the extent of the injury was manifest, ministers held several councils upon the subject. At length they issued a proclamation, commanding an embargo to be laid on the exportation of corn. Lord *Chatham* did not attend any of these councils. To the second council he sent his opinion in writing, which was in favour of the embargo. When Parliament met, ministers defended their conduct upon this parti-

Embargo on the exportation of corn.

CHAP. XXXII. 1766. particular point, by the ſame arguments, and avowed the ſame doctrines which had been uſed in the defence of ſimilar arbitrary meaſures by the friends of the *Stuarts*. The conſtitution was very ably ſupported by Lord *Mansfield*, Lord *Temple*, and Lord *Lyttleton*. And their arguments were afterwards publiſhed in a pamphlet, entitled, *A Speech againſt the ſuſpending and diſpenſing Prerogative*. Many people aſcribed this ſpeech to Lord *Mansfield*. But they were miſtaken. The pamphlet was written under the eye of Lord *Temple*, by a gentleman at the bar, who was preſent at the debate, and who was alſo aſſiſted in the compoſition by Lord *Lyttleton*.

A few days after the proclamations were iſſued reſpecting the embargo*, Lord *Chatham* retired to Bath for the benefit of his health. During his ſtay at Bath, the Duke of *Bedford* came there for the ſame reaſon. Lord *Chatham* ſolicited an interview with his Grace. His Lordſhip's view was, to detach the Duke from Mr. *Grenville*. Lord *Chatham* was not unacquainted, that a pow-

State of Parties.

* They were dated September 26th, 1766.

erful

erful and violent oppoſition was forming againſt him. It was menaced, that this oppoſition would conſiſt of the late miniſtry, whom, for diſtinction's ſake, and becauſe the Duke of *Newcaſtle* was yet alive, was ſometimes called the *Pelham's*; of the relations of his own family, and their friends, who, though a minor party, were yet a growing one; and of the *Bedford* intereſt, which at that time was reſpectable, firm and compact. The two laſt intereſts were united. His deſign was to ſeparate them; and to ſtrengthen his adminiſtration by an acquiſition of the Duke of *Bedford*. He therefore opened his conference with his Grace, by making the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that he ſhould be particularly happy to ſee the King's adminiſtration countenanced and ſupported by his Grace's approbation and intereſt. The Duke making no reply to this exordium, Lord *Chatham* proceeded, by ſaying, that he would frankly lay before his Grace the principal meaſures he intended to purſue.

Conference between Ld. Chatham and the Duke of Bedford.

Firſt. He intended to keep the peace inviolate, and to keep a watchful eye over the Princes on the Continent, that they did the ſame.

Secondly.

CHAP. XXXII. 1766. Secondly. He would enter into no continental connections, nor make any subsidiary treaty with any European power.

Thirdly. He would observe such a strict and rigid œconomy, as should command the approbation of the most frugal member of Parliament.

The Duke replied, that these were the very measures for which he had always declared and contended. They were *his* measures, and he would certainly support them, whether his friends were in, or out of office.

Not a word was spoken of America, nor of any arrangements.

They parted in similar conceptions, that this interview was only a prelude to another. And this accounts for a great part of the *Bedford interest* being neuter at the meeting of Parliament.

Lord *Chatham*'s next step was, an attempt to divide the *Newcastle interest*. He began with Mr. *Shelly*, the Duke's near relation. To him, he promised the Staff of Treasurer of

of the Houſhold; which at this time was in the hands of Lord *Edgcumbe*. In his expectations of accompliſhing his deſign, he was too ſanguine. It is true, he procured the diſmiſſion of Lord *Edgcumbe*, and the appointment of Mr. *Shelly;* but the diſmiſſion of Lord *Edgcumbe* was attended with conſequences which rather weakened than ſtrengthened his adminiſtration; and ſo far from dividing, or diſmaying his opponents, rather cemented their union, and provoked their reſentment. CHAP. XXXII. 1766.

The particulars of this diſmiſſion were as follows;

* " About the 20th of November, 1766, the Miniſter ſent a note to Lord E. acquainting his Lordſhip, " That a Great Perſonage had determined upon making ſome alterations in his ſervants; and that he [the Miniſter] ſhould be glad to ſee Lord E. in Bond-ſtreet, or he would wait upon his Lordſhip in Upper Groſvenor-ſtreet."—— Lord E. directly waited upon the Miniſter in Bond-ſtreet. The Miniſter began with Conference between Ld. Chatham and Lord Edgcumbe

* From the Political Regiſter, Vol. 1. p. 275.

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commending his Lordſhip's abilities,. his virtues, his integrity, and recited the contents of his letter. Then, after ſome pauſe, he ſaid, " He was very ſorry for it, was extremely concerned it ſhould happen ſo—— but—it was neceſſary—." Here Lord *E.* ſtopped him ſhort, and bluntly demanded, " if his poſt was deſtined for another." The Miniſter, after a little pauſe, acknowledged that it was, and that it had been ſo for ſome time. Lord E. then proceeded to remind him of the meaſures of the late oppoſition; " that he had, four years, ſteadily and uniformly ſupported thoſe meaſures; meaſures which he [the Miniſter] had approved and adopted, and which were now happily effected: that he had never deſerted any of the great queſtions upon the ſubjects of the liberties and intereſts of his country; and expreſſed his aſtoniſhment that this treatment ſhould be the reward of a conduct that had manifeſtly the approbation of, and was agreeable to, the ſpirit and principles of the Miniſter, while in oppoſition." The force of theſe truths, and this concluſion, obviouſly made an impreſſion upon the Miniſter: and he ſaid, " that however unwilling a Great Perſonage was to increaſe the number

ber of his Lords of the Bedchamber, yet he [the Minifter] would neverthelefs venture to place his Lordfhip upon that lift." Lord *E*. directly made anfwer, "That however willing he really was to hold fome place, in order that he might continue in office with his friends, and fupport the meafures of government, yet, after this ufage, he would not take any place, nor refign that which he held, to any but the Great Perfonage himfelf." And added "that it was extremely impolitic thus to turn out perfons of rank; perfons of great parliamentary intereft." The Minifter burft out—"Oh!" faid he, "if that be the cafe, *let me feel my-* "*felf!* I defpife your parliamentary in-"tereft! I do not want your affiftance!" And added, "that he trufted to the uprightnefs of his meafures for the fupport and confidence of the K——, and the favour and attachment of the people; and acting upon thefe principles," faid he, "*I dare look in the face the proudeft connections of this country!*" They parted.

"Two days after, Lord *E*. received a note fignifying a Great Perfon's defire of his ftaff. On Monday the 24th of November, 1766,

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1766, he waited on the Great Perſon, who ſaid, "that he was very ſorry to part with his Lordſhip, of whoſe ſervices he had a very high opinion, as well as of his Lordſhip's abilities, and attachment to his perſon, and eſpecially becauſe his Lordſhip had no mixture of factious principles in his diſpoſition; But," ſays he, "My miniſters tell me it muſt be ſo;" and added, "that the idea of the bed-chamber was purely his own." Lord *E.* returned the Great Perſon "his ſincere and moſt humble thanks for the good opinion he was pleaſed to entertain of him; and expreſſed the great obligation he was under for it, and the more ſo," added he, "for not preſſing the bed-chamber upon me; all which more than pay me for the ill uſage of your miniſters." The ſtaff was given up, and Mr. *Shelly* appointed Treaſurer of the Houſhold.

Its conſequences.

"Next day the Earl of *Beſsborough*, who was one of the joint Poſt-maſters, offered to make room for Lord *E.* by propoſing to reſign that poſt in favour of his Lordſhip, and taking the bed-chamber, which had been offered to that Lord. But this obliging offer was rejected. Upon which the Duke of

Port-

Portland, the Earls of *Besſborough* and *Scarborough*, and Lord *Monſon*, reſigned the next day, which was Wedneſday, November the 26th, 1766. And theſe reſignations were immediately followed by thoſe of Sir *Charles Saunders*, Sir *William Meredith*, Admiral *Keppel*, &c."

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Admiralty offered to Ld Gower.

In conſequence of theſe reſignations, Lord *Chatham* reſolved to renew his overtures to the *Bedford intereſt*. The office of firſt lord of the Admiralty, which Sir *Charles Saunders* had reſigned, he immediately tendered to Lord *Gower*. But that Lord did not think proper to accept it (though he did not refuſe it) without firſt conſulting the Duke of *Bedford*, who at this time was at Wooburn. And having given this anſwer to Lord *Chatham*, he went on the 28th to Wooburn to conſult his Grace. Next day Lord *Chatham* had a long conference in the cloſet. He laid open the plan of his intended alliance with the *Bedford intereſt*, to fill the vacancies occaſioned by the late reſignations. But the conduct of the great leader of this intereſt, when laſt in office, had created ſo violent a prejudice againſt him, Lord *Chatham* found the execution of his

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his plan to be impracticable in the whole extent that he designed it; for he intended to have included the Duke himself in his new arrangement. But he was intreated to abandon all thoughts of that nobleman. He was promised the warmest, the fullest, most sincere, and most effectual support. He yielded to these assurances, or, as he said afterwards, he could not resist them: and several vacant offices were filled before Lord *Gower* returned from Wooburn. The names of the persons appointed, will sufficiently distinguish the interest which prevailed. Lord *Le Despencer*, who had been Lord *Bute*'s Chancellor of the Exchequer, was made Postmaster; Mr. *Jenkinson*, now Lord *Liverpool*, who had been Lord *Bute*'s *private* secretary, was made a Lord of the Admiralty. The rest the reader will find in the List of Changes at the end of the Work. By this arrangement, Lord *Chatham* seemed to be entirely united to the court. He certainly trusted to the promises which had been made for his support; and he gave them full credit, because he believed them to be sincere.

On

CHAP. XXXII. 1766. Second conference with the Duke of Bedford.

On the firſt of December Lord *Gower* returned from Wooburn, with the Duke of *Bedford*. A few hours after their arrival in London, the Duke waited on Lord *Chatham*, in Bond-ſtreet. The conference between theſe two noble Peers was very ſhort. Lord *Chatham*'s purpoſe was to conceal the engagement he had made with the court. The Duke's idea was, that the negociation begun at Bath, and continued with Lord *Gower*, was ſtill open. His Grace therefore requeſted ſome of the vacant offices for his friends, and an Engliſh peerage for the Marquis of *Lorne*, now Duke of *Argyll*. He aſked nothing for himſelf; but added, that the meaſures which had been avowed at Bath, he expected were ſtill to be purſued. Lord *Chatham* began with putting a poſitive and unqualified negative on the peerage of Lord *Lorne*. Then, as to the offices, he ſaid, there were very few vacant. He had beſtowed the Admiralty upon Sir *Edward Hawke*, and given to Mr. *Jenkinſon* and Sir *Piercy Brett* the two vacant ſeats at that Board, and Lord *Le Deſpencer* was deſtined for the Poſt office. And as to meaſures, he obſerved, he had never altered his opinion of the peace, it was the ſame that he had

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declared in Parliament: And with reſpect to Pruſſia, he was reſolved to ſupport and maintain the alliance with that monarch. From theſe anſwers, the Duke was convinced, that all thoughts of negociation were at an end, and next morning his Grace returned to Wooburn.

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CHAP. XXXIII.

Further arrangements.—Lord Chatham regets the Loſs of Lord Temple.—Seized with the Gout at Bath and at Marlborough.—Comes to Hampſtead.—Another Change meditated.—General Conway wiſhes to reſign.—Lord Northington wiſhes to reſign.—King's Meſſage to Lord Chatham.—Duke of Newcaſtle is very anxious to preſerve the Union of the Oppoſition.—Application to Lord Rockingham.—Declaration of the Duke of Bedford, Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville.—Declaration of the Duke of Newcaſtle.—Conference at Newcaſtle Houſe.—Breaks off.—Importance of the Miniſter of the Houſe of Commons.—America the True Cauſe.—Second Conference at Newcaſtle Houſe.—Anecdotes of Mr. Lownds's Tickets, and of the Judge's Tickets.—Nabob of Arcot's Members.—Judge Yates tampered with.—Lord Rockingham waits on the King.—Lord Holland adviſes the King.

WITH a view to detach ſome of the Duke of *Bedford*'s friends from his Grace's intereſt, Lord *Chatham*, in ten days after the preceding negociation was cloſed, gave the ſame peerage to the Marquis of

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Lorne, which he had refufed to the requeft of the Duke of *Bedford*. And at the fame time Mr. *Nugent*, who was placed at the head of the Board of Trade, was created Lord *Clare*. But the American bufinefs, ufually managed and tranfacted at that Board, was transferred to the office of the Southern Secretary of State; and the Board itfelf was reduced to the ftate of a board of reference only. As foon as Lord *Chatham* had made this alteration, and a few other leffer arrangements, he went into Somerfetfhire.

Ld. Chatham regrets he lofs of Ld. Temple.

Although the vacant offices were filled, yet he was far from being fatisfied with the choice he had been obliged to make of feveral of the individuals, or with the union he been obliged to accept. And he regretted, more than any other circumftance, the lofs of his brother Lord *Temple*—becaufe he felt that lofs more and more every day.—He now felt the lofs of a repofitory of his confidence—the folace of his hours of affliction. Grief, vexation, and difappointment, preyed upon his nerves; which, though in early life, naturally ftrong, were now become weak, by age and infirmity.

His

His peerage had diminiſhed his popularity. A conſiderable part of his miniſtry, conſiſted of men who had been appointed through neceſſity, not through choice; and this circumſtance being notorious to thoſe whom he had ſelected in the firſt inſtance, inſpired them with a ſpirit of envy and ambition, to become the rivals of his ſituation and power. He was agitated by contending paſſions—a mind ſometimes vigorous, and often depreſſed—his body tortured by pain, and impriſoned by infirmity—he fell into a paroxyſm of the gout at Bath, which ſeemed to threaten his extinction. In the month of February 1767, he attempted to return to London, but was unable to proceed further than Marlborough; where he lay until March, and then finiſhed his journey. He retired to a houſe he had hired at Hampſtead; but was in ſo feeble a ſtate he could not attend to any public buſineſs. He remained at Hampſtead ſome time, having ſold his eſtate at Hayes, in Kent. The air of Hampſtead was too ſharp for his diſorder—that of Hayes he thought ſuited him better; therefore he wiſhed to re-poſſeſs his former habitation; which being made known to Mr. *Walpole*, the purchaſer,

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Seized with the Gout at Bath.

1767.

And at Marlborough.

Comes to Hampſtead.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1767. chaſer, he very politely gratified his Lordſhip, notwithſtanding he had bought the place for his own reſidence.

Another change meditated. During his abſence, Mr. *Townſhend*, in ſome degree, aſſumed the reins of government. He ſuppoſed Lord *Chatham*'s ſtate of health to be ſuch as would totally, and for ever, preclude his return to public buſineſs. He therefore meditated the accompliſhment of ſome alliances, with a view of forming another adminiſtration for the eſtabliſhment of his own power. In this project he was joined by General *Conway*. They cultivated a favourable underſtanding with Lord *Rockingham*. Their firſt object was the removal of the Duke of *Grafton*; but Lord *Chatham* arriving in the vicinity of London, the deſign was abandoned, and the Duke and Mr. *Townſhend* became reconciled *.

During Lord *Chatham*'s ſtay at Hampſtead, the King ſent frequent meſſages to him, deſiring him not to be concerned at his confinement, or abſence from public

* They had differed upon the affairs of India.

bufinefs; for that he [the King] was refolved to fupport him.

General Conway wifhes to refign.

* "Early in the month of June, Gen. *Conway* declared to feveral of his friends, that he had refolved to refign his office of Secretary of State; becaufe his fituation was of late become very difagreeable to him, not only from having been frequently over-ruled in his opinions refpecting meafures; but from his being fenfible, that he was acting in oppofition to his friends, and particularly to thofe friends with whom he anxioufly wifhed to be re-united. And he made the fame declaration, or fomething not very unlike it, to the King; but at the fame time faid, he would ftay till a fucceffor was appointed. In confequence of this declaration, he ceafed to tranfact any bufinefs of his office, and circular letters were fent to the ambaffadors for four weeks together, fignifying that he was out of employment.

Lord Northington wifhes to refign.

Towards the end of June, Lord *Northington* declared to the King his refolution

* From the Political Regifter, (with feveral corrections and additions). Vol. I. page 201, &c.

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to reſign, on account of his ill ſtate of health, and real inability to attend the public buſineſs; and adviſed the King to ſend for the Duke of *Bedford*, Lord *Temple*, and Mr. *Grenville*, whom he had before publicly declared *were equal to their offices.*

This, though an expected event, bore no relation to the preceding declaration of Mr. *Conway*, nor were the two perſons in the ſmalleſt degree connected.

King's meſſage to Lord Chatham.

A few days after the riſing of Parliament, which was on the ſecond day of July, the King wrote a letter with his own hand to Lord *Chatham*, who lay ſick at Hampſtead, acquainting him of his reſolution to make ſome alterations in his ſervants, and deſiring his aſſiſtance or advice. Lord *Chatham* returned a verbal anſwer to this effect, "That ſuch was his ill ſtate of health; that his Majeſty muſt not expect from him any further advice or aſſiſtance, in any arrangement whatever."

Duke of Newcaſtle anxious to preſerve the union of the oppoſition.

It being now certain, that application muſt be made to ſome part of the oppoſition, the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, who dreaded nothing

nothing ſo much as a diviſion of them, and therefore had for ſome time ſtrongly recommended a firm union among them, againſt the ſecret deſigns of the Favourite, whom he ſuſpected would form ſome new manœuvre to divide them. His Grace converſed with the friends of all the leaders in the Oppoſition; and preſſed with particular aſſiduity and extraordinary ardour, the great and indiſpenſible neceſſity of a faithful and ſteady adherence to each other. He ſhewed the advantages which muſt reſult from ſuch an union, and exhibited the wretched and ruined ſituation into which any part of them muſt inevitably fall, if they ſuffer themſelves to be ſeduced from their friends. His Grace took infinite pains to unite the houſes of *Ruſſel* and *Wentworth*; leſt, by the ſecret machinations of the Favourite (againſt whoſe pernicious influence no adminiſtration had hitherto been able to ſtand, the moment he choſe to become their enemy), either of them ſhould be ſeduced upon a miſtaken principle of duty; when, in reality, it was a much more eſſential duty, and a matter of ſtrict juſtice, to enquire after the author of the public grievances, than to connive any longer at the protection afforded

CHAP. XXXIII. 1767. afforded him. With a view to the final accomplishment of this union, so extremely interesting to the welfare of the country, the Lords *Gower*, *Weymouth* and Mr. *Rigby*, dined with his Grace at Claremont: and a few days afterwards (July 5, 1767), the Marquis of *Rockingham*, and several of his friends, dined likewise with his Grace at the same place.

At this period we will leave the Opposition, and turn to the proceedings of the Court.

In consequence of the *verbal* answer received from Hampstead, the Favourite applied to his former associate, Lord *Holland*, who had so materially assisted him in procuring an approbation of the late peace, and other measures. That person sent him his advice on Sunday morning, July the fifth; soon after the receipt of which, the Favourite set out for Richmond; and it was remarkable, and much taken notice of at the time, that the King did not come to town that day. Whatever was the plan then adopted for a new arrangement of ministers is not exactly known. Certain it is, that

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that part of the Oppoſition ſuppoſed to be the leaſt hoſtile to the Favourite, was immediately applied to. The Duke of *Grafton* wrote a letter, by order of the Court, to the Marquis of *Rockingham*, "requeſting his Lordſhip's return to court, to aſſiſt in the preſent critical ſituation of affairs." This naturally brought on an interview between the Duke and the Marquis: when, among other things, his Grace ſaid, "That he was tired of his office, and wiſhed his Lordſhip might be his ſucceſſor." Lord *Rockingham* aſked, "Whether his Grace ſaid this from his own, or the authority of an higher power." The Duke ſaid, "he could not anſwer that queſſion." The conference broke off; but two days after was renewed; when Lord *Rockingham* aſked the Duke, "Whether he was treating with the King's Miniſter, or with the Duke of *Grafton*."—The Duke anſwered, "with the King's Miniſter." Lord *Rockingham* then ſaid, "he would not conclude upon any thing without the advice and participation of his friends."

Application to Lord Rockingham.

Accordingly, on Saturday July 11, he ſet out for Wooburn, the ſeat of the Duke of *Bedford*,

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Bedford, where he found Lord *Albemarle*, who had ſtopped there in his way to Buxton; when the above particulars being laid before his Grace, he ſaid, " that as the Great Perſonage had made choice of the Marquis of *Rockingham* for his miniſter, he ſhould readily acquieſce in that nomination, for the ſake of putting an end to parties, and of reſtoring unanimity, ſo peculiarly wanting at this time in the management of the public buſineſs: but though he renounced all pretenſions to any place or emolument for himſelf, yet he did not mean that his friends ſhould, for that reaſon, be excluded: on the contrary, he ſtipulated, that they ſhould be conſidered in the new arrangement; and upon that condition he cheerfully offered his ſupport to the adminiſtration; and added, that if the King had made choice of himſelf to treat with, he ſhould have expected the ſame kind of renunciation from his Lordſhip, regarding himſelf perſonally, and his friends ſhould, in like manner, have been taken care of. However, his Grace ſaid, that all this was conditionally only, for that he and Lord *Temple* and Mr. *Grenville* were one, and that he would not proceed without conſulting them.—The

Declaration of the Duke of Bedford.

infor-

1767.

information given concerning the plan was, that as to meaſures, particularly American meaſures, Lord *Rockingham* hoped they might be ſettled to the joint ſatisfaction of the Duke of *Bedford*, Lord *Temple*, and Mr. *Grenville*, and as to men, Lord *Rockingham* declared for a wide and comprehenſive ſyſtem.—The anſwer returned to this communication by Lord *Temple* and Mr. *Grenville* was, that they concurred in the idea of a comprehenſive adminiſtration, as the likelieſt to be permanent, and that they were ready to ſupport ſuch an adminiſtration, though out of office (Mr. *Grenville* having before inſiſted, that his name ſhould not be mentioned for any office, having determined long ago not to be obtruded on the King), provided they adopted ſuch meaſures as could ſatisfy them, and particularly the capital meaſure of aſſerting and eſtabliſhing the ſovereignty of Great Britain over America; laſtly, that if this were the caſe, though they did not mean to take places themſelves, they would uſe their beſt offices with their friends to accept of honourable and becoming ſituations in government.

Declaration of Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville.

It

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Declaration of the Duke of Newcastle

It must not be forgot, that the Duke of *Newcastle* said precisely the same. Thus, these four great and respectable persons, of acknowledged ability and great experience, agreed to sacrifice themselves in order to restore tranquility to the public, unanimity to the King's councils, and to establish an able and permanent administration, composed of men of talents, judiciously selected from all parties. Lord *Rockingham* impressed with this idea, and following, as he had done, in his conferences with the Duke of *Bedford*, the advice and direction of his friend Lord *Albemarle*, returned to London, with full power to treat upon the formation of a new administration, upon a *broad and comprehensive system*. The Duke of *Grafton* was made acquainted with this, and desired to report it to the King, which he did on the 15th of July. His Majesty took two days to consider of it. On Friday the 17th, an answer was returned to the Duke of *Grafton* to this effect, "That the King adopted and approved of the idea of a *comprehensive system*, and hoped it was not meant to exclude his friends, and those about his person, for the rest he entirely agreed."

This anſwer being given to Lord *Rockingham*, his Lordſhip ſent for the Duke of *Bedford*, who came to London on Sunday evening, the 19th of July. CHAP. XXXIII. 1767.

On Monday, July the 20th, it was agreed that there ſhould be a meeting of the ſeveral perſons in town, at Newcaſtle-houſe that day, and accordingly there came the Dukes of *Bedford*, *Newcaſtle*, *Richmond*, and *Portland*: the Marquis of *Rockingham*; the Earl of *Sandwich*; Viſcount *Weymouth*; Mr. *Dowdeſwell*, Mr. *Rigby*, and Admiral *Keppel*. Conference at Newcaſtle Houſe.

Mr. *Rigby* read a letter from Mr. *Grenville*, wherein that gentleman promiſed his ſupport to the new adminiſtration, out of office, provided the dependance and obedience of the colonies were aſſerted and maintained. Much altercation inſtantly aroſe upon reading this letter. The Marquis of *Rockingham* was warm: the Duke of *Bedford* remarkably cool and temperate. At length, Lord *Sandwich* ſaid, "that it was needleſs to debate about that letter, for he was certain they all meant the ſame thing; that their conduct reſpecting the colonies

muſt

CHAP. XXXIII. 1767. muſt be regulated by the future behaviour of the colonies, and not by any regard or retroſpect to former tranſactions. If the colonies, added his Lordſhip, are dutiful and loyal, there will be no occaſion to exerciſe any extraordinary power over them; and if they ſhould be otherwiſe, he did not doubt but all preſent, as well as their friends, would join in every proper and neceſſary meaſure to enforce obedience. This reaſoning being approved of, and all uniting in the ſame ſentiment, Mr. *Dowdeſwell* took up the letter, and ſtruck out the two words *aſſerted* and *maintained*, and put in *ſupported* and *eſtabliſhed*. Here all altercation upon this ſubject entirely ended, Mr. *Rigby* folded up the letter, and put it into his pocket, and there was not another word uttered concerning it.

They then came to the arrangement of men to the great offices; the ſubject upon which they met. The Marquis of *Rockingham* propoſed himſelf for the firſt Lord of the Treaſury; with the powers uſually annexed to that poſt, and Mr. *Dowdeſwell* for his Chancellor of the Exchequer; to all which the Duke of *Bedford* agreed. The

Marquis

Marquis next proposed Mr. *Conway* for Secretary of State, and *Minister of the House of Commons*. To which the Duke of *Bedford* said, "that he had for two sessions seen sufficient proofs of Mr. *Conway*'s inability in a civil capacity, ever to agree to that proposal; that he thought the military was Mr. *Conway*'s proper line; that he had always entertained a very high opinion of him as a military officer; that he had not the least objection to Mr. *Conway*'s being amply provided for on the military establishment; nay, to his being gratified to the utmost of his wishes."

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The Marquis of *Rockingham* said, "that it was a proposal from which he could not recede; and other words to the same effect. Upon which Mr. *Rigby* said, "that they stopt at the threshold, and that it was needless to go any further into the matter."

Conference breaks off!

Here the conference ended.—No other particulars or conditions were even mentioned.

In a corrupt system of government, the *Minister of the House of Commons, or Manager*,

Importance of the minister of the House of Comm.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1767. *ger*, as he is ſometimes called, is the firſt *efficient** miniſter in the ſtate. His conſequence cannot be more clearly ſhewn than by the abrupt concluſion of the preceding conference.—After ſo many oppoſite intereſts had been reconciled, and ſo many great ſacrifices had been made, to remove individual jealouſies, and to eſtabliſh public harmony—all theſe were but a phantom—they all vaniſhed in a moment—when the appointment of this *new Miniſter* came under diſcuſſion. Each party wiſhed to nominate him. They differed, and ſeparated upon that point only—not in a contention for places, but in a contention for *power*. Whoever is the miniſter of the Houſe of Commons, has the power of ſupporting the meaſures of government. Lord *Rockingham* wanted Mr. *Conway*, becauſe he intended to perſevere in his own ſyſtem, with reſpect to America. The Duke of *Bedford* intended to have nominated Mr. *Rigby*, becauſe he intended to purſue the Court ſyſtem, which Mr. *Grenville* had adopted, of

* A diſtinction firſt made uſe of by Lord *Mansfield*—between efficient and official—between confidential and oſtenſible.

taxing

taxing America. America was therefore the true cauſe of this conference breaking off. Subſequent events have proved, whoſe policy was right. Had Lord *Rockingham* been miniſter, America would ſtill, in all probability, have belonged to the crown of Great Britain. Or had this ſyſtem of appointing a miniſter of the Houſe of Commons been abandoned, that, and other important benefits, would, no doubt, have continued; becauſe the members would have been left to the free exerciſe of their own judgment.

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America the true cauſe.

It is impoſſible to diſmiſs this point without a ſhort apoſtrophe on the alarming ſtate of Britiſh depravity. If the adminiſtration of annual bribes to the Members of the Legiſlature, independent of the influence of places, public and private, is become ſo neceſſary, and the practice ſo mechanical as to compriſe the *moſt eſſential department* of government—is it not a matter of indelible diſgrace on the nation, and on the conſtitution? There is no ſpecies of corruption to be found in the ancient governments that equals it. It is a perfect parricide. The Britiſh empire has been diſmembered by it

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—so fatally true is that maxim of Lord *Burleigh*, "*that England can never be undone but by her Parliament**."

Notwith-

* Of the many FACTS which might be stated, the following may serve for a specimen:

Towards the end of the session, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. *Bradshaw*, one day accosts Mr. *Lowndes* (Member for Bucks) with, *Sir, you have voted with us all the winter; some return is usually expected upon these occasions; and as we are much obliged to you for your constant support, if you chuse to accept of two hundred Lottery Tickets, at Ten Pounds each, they are at your service.* Mr. *Lowndes* bowed, expressed his great friendship for the Secretary, and accepted of the offer; adding only, That as the session was just upon the close, he should, as soon as it was finished, go into the country upon his private affairs; and begged the tickets might be sent to such a one, his banker; which the Secretary having promised to comply with, they parted. Mr. *Lowndes* went to Winslow. The tickets were delivered: none, however, were sent to Mr. *Lowndes*'s banker. The reason of which was, they had been distributed among that part of the Common Council who voted against the Livery having the use of Guildhall. Mr. *Lowndes*, hearing nothing of the tickets, wrote to his banker, who returned for answer, that he had not received nor heard of, any tickets. Mr. *Lowndes* next wrote to Mr. *Bradshaw*, who in his answer, "begged a thousand pardons; that the matter had quite slipped his memory; that the tickets were all disposed of, except five-and-twenty, which were at his service." Mr. *Lowndes* meanly accepted of the twenty-five, and they were sent to his banker's.—By these tickets he probably cleared about one hundred pounds. Such was his *douceur* for voting one session with the Duke of *Grafton*.

In a late Parliament; the Nabob of *Arcot* had nine members in his interest—Might not any European prince have twice that number by the same means?—Do not these facts speak stronger than a thousand arguments, the necessity of a Parliamentary Reform?

But

Notwithstanding the conference ended in the manner that has been already related, the CHAP. XXXIII. 1767.

But it is further remarkable, and in the breast of every honest man it must be matter of sincere lamentation, that douceurs have been given even to the Judges.—Sir *Richard Aston*, in particular, was seen selling his tickets in 'Change Alley; and when the fact was mentioned to him at the Old Bailey at dinner, he confessed it, and said, he had as good a right to sell his tickets as Mr. Justice *Willes*, or any body else.—Is not this circumstance a full answer to all the encomiums on the independence of the Judges?

But what Mr. Alderman *James Townsend* said in the House of Commons, on the sixth day of December 1770, is, if possible, of more importance than the preceding. "I am afraid," he said, "that there is too great a vicinity between Westminster-hall and St. James's. I suspect, and the people suspect, that their correspondence is too close and intimate. But why do I say it is suspected? It is a known avowed fact. A late Judge, equally remarkable for his knowledge and integrity, was tampered with by administration. He was solicited to favour the Crown in certain trials, which were then depending between the Crown and the subject. I hear some gentlemen desiring me to name the Judge: but there is no necessity for it. (*Sir Joseph Yates was the Judge meant.*) The fact is known to several members of this House; and if I do not speak truth, let those who can, contradict me. I call upon them to rise, that the public may not be abused—but all are silent, and can as little invalidate what I have said, as what I am going to say. This great, this honest Judge, being thus solicited in vain, what was now to be done? What was the *last* resource of baffled injustice? *that* was learned from a short conversation which passed between him and some friends, a little before his death. The last and most powerful engine was applied. A letter was sent him directly from a Great Personage: but as he suspected it to contain something dishonourable, he sent it back unopened. He could not die in peace 'till he had disclosed this scene of iniquity!"

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the Earl of *Sandwich* having occaſion to make a viſit to the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, his Lordſhip went next morning (Tueſday, July 21), when the Duke took an opportunity of reſuming the ſubject of the preceding conference: "He earneſtly conjured his Lordſhip to exert his abilities, and employ all his good offices in endeavouring to reconcile the parties who had differed; he urged again, and again, the neceſſity of their agreeing upon this important occaſion: he trembled for the miſchiefs and dangers which muſt ariſe from a diviſion of their ſtrength and intereſt; and concluded with repeatedly ſupplicating in the ſtrongeſt terms, that they might be brought together again at his houſe that evening." Lord *Sandwich* waited on the Duke of *Bedford*; and the Duke of *Newcaſtle* went himſelf to the Marquis of *Rockingham*. Accordingly the following five

And in a pamphlet, publiſhed by *Robert Morris*, Eſq. of Lincoln's Inn, entitled, *A Letter to Sir Richard Aſton*, are theſe words, "Whilſt the offence of libelling is treated as the moſt dangerous, hateful, and flagitious, the King is conſulted upon the *revenge* which he would chuſe to take upon his admoniſhers; for it was manifeſt, from Mr. Juſtice *Aſton*'s Speech, upon the caſe of one of the publiſhers of Junius's Letters, [*Proſecution of Mr. A.*] that his Majeſty was not quite out of the ſecret of *that* proſecution." *Page* 37.

met

met at Newcaſtle-houſe that evening, viz. the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Newcaſtle*, the Marquis of *Rockingham*, Mr. *Dowdeſwell*, and Mr. *Rigby*. When the Marquis inſiſting on the propoſal he had before made reſpecting Mr. *Conway*, and declaring that he would not agree to any arrangement in which Mr. *Conway* was not included in that capacity; and the Duke of *Bedford* refuſing to agree to it, the conference finally broke off.

Second conference at Newcaſtle-houſe.

Next day, Wedneſday, the Marquis of *Rockingham* waited on the King at St. James's, and reſpectfully acquainted his Majeſty, that he had met his friends, who had agreed to his propoſal of his being firſt Lord of the Treaſury; but that they had differed in providing for Mr. *Conway*, and that, in conſequence of that difference, he had no plan of adminiſtration to lay before him. The King thanked his Lordſhip for the pains he had taken, and the regard he had ſhewn for his ſervice; but added, *that he never knew the Treaſury was intended for his Lordſhip* *.

Ld. Rockingham waits on the King.

* The moment the Marquis of *Rockingham* came out of the King's cloſet, Lord *Holland* was immediately introduced to his Majeſty;

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From the conclusion of this answer it is clear, that either the Marquis of *Rockingham* greatly mistook the Duke of *Grafton* in the conferences he had with his Grace; or that his Grace was not sufficiently explicit in his conversations with the Marquis.

The Marquis of *Rockingham* waited on the Duke of *Bedford* (Thursday July 23), and expressed his desire that no difference might arise between them on account of what had passed, but that they might

Majesty; with whom he continued for some time.——In Lord *Bath*'s pamphlet (*Seasonable Hints, edit.* 1761, *p.* 37), of which Mr. *Burke* says, (*Thoughts on Discontents, edit.* 1770, *p.* 23), "there first appeared the idea of separating the Court from the administration,"—is the following paragraph:—

"Though the wings of prerogative have been clipt, the influence of the Crown is greater than ever it was in any period of our history. For, when we consider in how many boroughs the Government has the voters at its command; when we consider the extensive influence of the money corporations, subscription jobbers, and contractors; the endless dependence created by the obligations conferred on the bulk of the gentlemens' families throughout the kingdom, who have relations preferred, in our navy, and numerous standing army: when, I say, we consider how wide, how binding a dependence on the Crown is created by the above particulars; and the great, the enormous weight and influence which the Crown derives from this extensive dependence upon its favours and power; *any lord in waiting, any lord of the bed-chamber, any man, may be appointed Minister.*"

A doctrine to this effect was the advice which Lord *Holland* gave his Majesty.

continue in the ſame union and friendſhip as before. CHAP. XXXIII. 1767.

On Friday July 24, Mr. *Conway* attempted to renew the negociation with the Marquis of *Rockingham*, ſeparately; but the Marquis refuſed to leave his friends.

All negociation being now at an end, the leading perſons in adminiſtration met to conſider on what ſhould be their future conduct. They all agreed to remain in their places.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Mr. Townſhend reſolves to be Miniſter—Dies—Lord North appointed—Lord Chatham goes into Somerſetſhire—The Bedford Intereſt join the Miniſtry —Duke of Bedford's Apology to Mr. Grenville, and Mr. Grenville's Anſwer—Lord Chatham returns to Hayes—French purchaſe Corſica—Difference between the Duke of Bedford and Lord Shelburne—Lord Rochford reſigns—Lord Shelburne reſigns—Fine Diamond Ring preſented to his Majeſty—Lord Rochford made Secretary of State, with the Reaſons—Lord Chatham reſigns—Lord Bute goes abroad—Lord Townſhend continued in Ireland.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1767. Mr Townſhend reſolves to be Miniſter.

MR. TOWNSHEND obſerving, that no notice had been taken of him in the preceding negociations for a change of miniſters, reſolved to reſent this contempt, with which he had been treated. Adminiſtration had been for ſome time without a leader, and was ſtill conſidered to be in want of one. Lord *Chatham* was thought to be irrecoverable. This ſituation ſeemed to afford him an opportunity for the uncontrouled exerciſe of his talents. He determined

termined to embrace it. Therefore he instantly joined the Court, with the most full and explicit declaration of sincerity *. His alliance was favourably received; and he gave a proof of his power, by creating his lady an English Peeress, with the remainder to his son. Had he lived, he would have been first Lord of the Treasury before the ensuing session of Parliament; and Mr. *Yorke* was to have been his Chancellor. His death, which happened early in the month of September, threw both the Court and the Ministry into fresh difficulties. Every effort had been made to form a new administration in vain. Every party had been solicited, individuals separately, and connections jointly, without success. But there was one part of the Royal Family that had not publicly appeared in any of these negociations: this was the *Princess of Wales*.

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Dies.

Mr. *Townshend's* place of Chancellor of the Exchequer was offered to several Gentlemen, who refused to accept of it. At length it was thought of giving it to Lord

* He brought in the bill laying a duty upon tea in America. (See Appendix W.)

Barrington

CHAP. XXXIV. 1767. *Barrington, pro tempore.* Lord *Mansfield* attempted to open a negociation with the Duke of *Bedford.* But his Grace refuſed to enter into any ſeparate treaty. Lord *North,* who, during Mr. *Grenville*'s adminiſtration, had been entruſted with all the motions againſt Mr. *Wilkes*, was deſired to ſucceed Mr. *Townſhend,* but he declined it. The *Princeſs of Wales* went to the King. His Lordſhip was again entreated—he took time to conſider of it—he conſulted his father.—After heſitating three weeks, he yielded. The *Princeſs*'s influence prevailed. Mr. *Thomas Townſhend,* now Lord *Sydney,* ſucceeded Lord *North* at the Pay office, and Mr. *Jenkinſon,* now Lord *Liverpool,* ſucceeded Mr. *Townſhend* at the Treaſury.

Ld. North appointed

In making this arrangement, no communication was had with Lord *Chatham,* by either the Court, or the Miniſtry. As ſoon as his health permitted, he retired into Somerſetſhire. His departure from the vicinity of the metropolis, though he had not been conſulted in any buſineſs whatever, was conſidered by the Miniſtry as a kind of dereliction of public buſineſs. However, he continued to hold the Privy Seal.

Ld. Chatham goes to Somerſetſhire.

The

The Duke of *Grafton*, who ſometime ago wiſhed to reſign, on account of Lord *Chatham's* infirmity *, now changed his opinion; but Lord *Northington* and General *Conway* ſtill expreſſing their deſire to reſign, his Grace reſolved to try the friends of the Duke of *Bedford* once more. If they had refuſed, he muſt have reſigned, and a new adminiſtration muſt have been formed. But the perſons to whom his Grace made his offers, could not withſtand the temptation any longer; they ſeparated from their friends and allies; thereby preventing the appointment of an able and powerful adminiſtration, and bargained to ſupport the preſent, which ſeemed to conſiſt of the remnants and refuſe of all parties. Lord *Gower* was made Lord Preſident, in the room of Lord *Northington*; Lord *Weymouth*, Secretary of State, in the room of Mr. *Conway*; Mr. *Rigby*, Vice-Treaſurer of Ireland, in the room of Mr. *Oſwald*, who had a large penſion and a lucrative reverſion. Lord *Hillſborough* was

Bedford intereſt join the Miniſtry.

* Lord *Briſtol* gave the ſame reaſon for reſigning the Lieutenancy of Ireland at the end of July, "That he had no hope of having the advice, direction. and aſſiſtance of Lord *Chatham*." Upon which Lord *Townſhend* was appointed.

made

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI

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made Secretary of State for America*. Lord *Sandwich*, made Poſt-maſter, &c. While the negociation for theſe changes was under conſideration, the Duke of *Bedford* ſaid to Mr. *Grenville*, 'That he hoped it would not be conſidered as a breach of good faith, if his friends thought themſelves at liberty to accept of any offers which might be made to them of public employments.'

D. of Bedford's apology.

Mr. Grenville's anſwer.

Mr. *Grenville* replied, " That he left to his Grace's own judgment, whether, ſetting every private compact and agreement aſide, the acceſſion of his friends to the preſent

* The creation of this new office, and the character of the noble Lord who was appointed to it, were ſuch ſtrong marks of the deſigns, the plan, and the reſolution taken, with reſpect to the Colonies, that an alarm inſtantly went forth amongſt them. Nothing could more clearly ſignify, that the Court were preparing to make them the objects of ſome extraordinary meaſure—ſince *another* Secretary of State, with a compleat eſtabliſhment of office, had been appointed ſeparately and diſtinctly, for this department—at a time of great inconvenience to his Majeſty—when the Civil Liſt was deeply in arrear. His Lordſhip's firſt important act of office, was ſending Lord *Bottetourt*, Governor of Virginia; and his apology for it was, *That the nomination came from a higher authority*.

Lord *Cheſterfield* ſays in his Letters, that Lord *Bute* was backwards and forwards at this time—from Luton to London.

Miniſtry,

Ministry, was not a breach of good faith to themselves, and to the public?" CHAP. XXXIV. 1767.

Before these negociations were concluded, Lord *Chatham* returned from Somersetshire to his old seat, at Hayes, in Kent; but so exceedingly ill and infirm, he was quite unable to transact any business. Early in the month of February 1768, the Privy Seal being officially necessary, was put into commission for a few weeks, but in the month of March it was re-delivered to him. The Duke of *Grafton*, who had been to him the most obsequious of men, and was now proceeding at the helm without that pilot, whom he lately deemed indispensable, did not venture to turn him out, though Lord *Bristol*, and Lord *Egmont* were candidates for his place.

Lord Chatham returns to Hayes; 1768.

Parliament met on the 24th of November 1767, and was dissolved on the 12th of March 1768. Lord *Chatham* did not attend during the session.

A few weeks before the dissolution of Parliament, Mr. *Wilkes* returned again to England, and at the general election was elected

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S

CHAP. XXXIV. 1768. elected Member for the county of Middlesex. All the circumstances of which have been amply related in several publications.

French purchase Corsica. During the last year, the French Court purchased of the Genoese, the claim of that republic to the island of Corsica. And this year a French army landed on the island to take possession of it. This was an unprecedented kind of purchase. The French might, with the same propriety, have purchased the Spanish claim to the Netherlands, or Jamaica. This addition to the French monarchy, alarmed the courts of London and Turin. Mr. *George Pitt*, (afterwards Lord *Rivers)*, the British Minister at Turin, having resigned at the general election, on the promise of a peerage, the Ministry were divided on the appointment of a successor. Lord *Lansdown*, then Lord *Shelburne*, was for Lord *Tankerville**, and the Duke of *Bedford* for Sir *W. Lynch*. The latter was appointed. But this was not the only instance in which the Secretary of State had

Difference between the Duke of Bedford and Ld. Shelburne.

Five Lords in favour of America.

* His Lordship was one of the five Lords who voted against the American Declaratory Bill in 1766. The other four were the Lords Cornwallis *, Torrington, Shelburne, and Camden.

* For this vote Lord Chatham made Dr. Cornwallis Archbishop of Canterbury.

been

been over-ruled, in the affair of Corsica. He considered the accession of Corsica to France, an object of importance to Great-Britain; and being deeply impressed with this opinion, he instructed Lord *Rochford*, the British Minister at the French Court, to remonstrate strongly against this acquisition to France. The French Minister treated the remonstrance with contempt. The fact is, he knew the sentiments of the British Court better than the British Minister. In a short time, Lord *Rochford* found that his instructions were disavowed by his own court. Upon receiving this information, he resigned his displomatic character, and returned to London. The Secretary of State now discovering the dupe he had been made, and the deceptions which had been practised upon him, resigned also *. When

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Ld. Rochford resigns.

Ld. Shelburne resigns.

* But Sir *John Macpherson*, in his memorial [*printed in the answer to the letter from Mahomet Ali Chan. Appendix, page* xii.] says, "the Earl of *Shelburne* was dismissed at the *instigation* of the Duke of *Grafton*." We learn also from this memorial, That his Majesty was graciously pleased to receive from the Nabob of *Arcot*, whose forts are garrisoned by our troops, and whose army is commanded by our officers, *a fine diamond ring*, through the hands of Governor *Palk*. The world is not ignorant of many other magnificent presents from the East. But as the Governor was once in holy orders, the ceremony of investing the royal finger with this mystic sign of alliance, may be considered as something divine.

 the

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARA

CHAP. XXXIV. 1768.

the court of Turin ſaw that the Britiſh cabinet were indifferent to the aggrandizement of France, the King of Sardinia immediately attached himſelf to the houſe of Bourbon. Upon the reſignation of Lord *Lansdown*, Lord *Rochford* was made Secretary of State, in the month of October 1768. But to relieve the French Miniſter from the indelicacy of correſponding with a perſon whoſe veracity he had diſputed, Lord *Weymouth*, now Lord *Bath*, was removed from the Northern, and placed in the Southern Department, and Lord *Rochford* was made ſucceſſor to Lord *Weymouth*.

Ld. Rochford made Secretary of State,

With the reaſons.

Lord *Rochford* was made Secretary of State through fear, not through friendſhip. The chiefs of the interior Cabinet dreaded his laying open the ſcene of negociation at Paris. If he had laid this information before Parliament, the whole machinery of the miniſtry muſt have fallen to pieces. The ſyſtem of a Double-Cabinet muſt have become ſo apparent to the whole nation, and the hypocriſy of the Court ſo perfectly unveiled, that it may be preſumed, from the ordinary feelings of mankind to repeated inſults and indignities, that no man of the

ſmalleſt

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ſmalleſt ſpark of honour, who was not leagu d with the Court, as *party* in ſome criminal tranſaction, or deeply diſtreſſed for the means of ſubſiſtence, would continue one moment to uphold, or connive at, a ſyſtem, that had for its objects, the debaſement of the Engliſh nobility, the extenſion of the power of the Crown, and the humiliation of the pride of the nation.——But Lord ****** wanted another place, and upon condition of his ſilence, he was gratified. Thus the French got Corſica. What they gave for it, the prudence of the parties has hitherto concealed*.

* On the firſt of Auguſt 1768, (the anniverſary of the Hanoverian ſucceſſion) Lord *Bute*, ſet out for the Bareges in the South of France. In the ſucceeding winter, a violent diſpute ariſing between Lord *Townſhend*, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and ſeveral of the great Lords of that kingdom, the miniſtry conceived it neceſſary to change the Lord Lieutenant; but they could not agree in the choice of a ſucceſſor. The Duke of *Bedford* was for Lord *Sandwich*, and the Duke of *Grafton* for Lord *Harcourt*. The diſagreement occaſioned the return of Lord *Bute*, in the autumn of the year 1769. He ſettl d the difference between theſe Dukes, by not accepting the recommendation of either; but continuing Lord *Townſhend*, who had been appointed under his own influence. Their Graces ſubmitted to his controul: and then he returned to the Continent. This accounts for Lord *Townſhend* ſtaying in Ireland four years, being the time of the uſual reſidence of two Lord Lieutenants.

Ld. Bute goes abroad.

Ld. Townſhend continued in Ireland.

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Ld. Chatham resigns.

Lord *Chatham* had for ſome time entertained thoughts of reſigning. This event decided him. The appointment of Lord *Hillſborough*, Secretary of State for the Colonies, was ſuch an outrage of his American ſyſtem (ſee appendix X.) and the atchievement of Corſica, by France, was ſuch an abandonment of his European policy, that they were the principal cauſes of his reſignation. He did not go to Court when he reſigned, but ſent the Privy Seal by Lord *Camden*.

This was the laſt place he held under the Crown.

His reſignation was an event that had been long expected, and therefore it occaſioned no ſurpriſe to the public, nor diſtreſs to the miniſtry. The Duke of *Grafton* having completed his alliance with the *Bedford intereſt*, eſteemed himſelf fully adequate to all the difficulties and burthens of the ſtate. Lord *Camden* attached himſelf to his Grace, and continued in office.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXV.

Reconciliation between Lord Chatham and Lord Temple.—Diſtraction of the Country.—Lord Chatham's Speech on the Addreſs at the beginning of the year 1770.

LORD CHATHAM had unceaſingly lamented his difference with Lord *Temple*, from the time it happened; and being now emancipated from the connexions of office, and even from the ſuſpicion of a connexion with the Court, he ſought the friendſhip of his brother with anxiety and ſincerity. On this occaſion he made Mr. *Calcraft* his confidant. He confeſſed to him, that almoſt every body elſe had betrayed him—his brother, he ſaid, had indeed abuſed him; but it was in the warmth of his temper, and in the openneſs of his nature, which was ſuperior to all hypocriſy, or concealment of diſapprobation. Mr. *Calcraft* approved himſelf a cordial and aſſiduous mediator. He accompliſhed their reconciliation: they had no more differences afterwards; and they were, if poſſible, more affectionately

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Ld. Temple and Ld. Chatham reconciled.

CHAP. XXXV. 1768. affectionately united than ever they had been. Mr. *Grenville* perfectly acceded to the union.

Parliament met on the eighth of November. A great part of the session was occupied by the several expulsions of Mr. *Wilkes*, and questions concerning the Middlesex election. Lord *Chatham* did not attend during the session. Rest and retirement he found were the best preservatives against the return of his disorder. But to his friends he declared, in the strongest terms, his thorough detestation of those measures. Petitions from several counties, cities, and large towns, were presented to the King, against them, but without any effect. The dearest rights of the people were sacrificed to personal resentment. The corruption of Parliament is become a grievance of the first magnitude. When the Court can command the Legislature, the Constitution is at an end. The case of the Middlesex election, is an indisputable evidence of this melancholy truth.

Distraction of the country.

The session closed on the ninth of May, 1769.

The

The reſpite which Lord *Chatham* gave himſelf from all kinds of buſineſs, and the happineſs he enjoyed in the reconciliation of his relations, ſo largely contributed to the reſtoration of his health, that, on the approach of the following ſeſſion, he found himſelf able to attend the labours of Parliament. 1769.

The next ſeſſion was opened on the ninth day of January, 1770. The diſcontents which pervaded the whole nation, ſtimulated him to the moſt vigorous exertion of his talents. He conſidered the conduct of the Houſe of Commons, on all the queſtions concerning the Middleſex election, as wholly unconſtitutional. He attended on the firſt day. His ſpeeches on that day have fortunately met with a better fate than many of his former ſpeeches; for they were accurately taken by a gentleman of ſtrong memory, now a member of the Houſe of Commons, and from his notes they are here printed. 1770.

The motion for an Addreſs was made by the Duke of *Ancaſter*, and ſeconded by Lord *Dunmore*.

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1770.

Lord Chatham's ſpeech on the addreſs. M. S.

"Earl of *Chatham*, after ſome compliment to the Duke of *Ancaſter*, took notice how happy it would have made him to have been able to concur with the noble Duke in every part of an Addreſs, which was meant as a mark of reſpect and duty to the Crown—profeſſed perſonal obligations to the King, and veneration for him; that, though he might differ from the noble Duke in form of expreſſing his duty to the Crown, he hoped he ſhould give his Majeſty a more ſubſtantial proof of his attachment than if he agreed with the motion. That, at his time of life, and loaded as he was with infirmities, he might, perhaps, have ſtood excuſed if he had continued in his retirement, and never taken part again in public affairs. But that the alarming ſtate of the nation called upon him, forced him to come forward once more, and to execute that duty which he owed to God, to his ſovereign, and to his country; that he was determined to perform it, even at the hazard of his life. That there never was a period which called more forcibly than the preſent, for the ſerious attention and conſideration of that houſe; that as they were the grand

hereditary

hereditary Counſellors of the Crown, it was particularly their duty, at a criſis of ſuch importance and danger, to lay before their Sovereign the true ſtate and condition of his ſubjects, the diſcontent which univerſally prevailed amongſt them, the diſtreſſes under which they laboured, the injuries they complained of, and the true cauſes of this unhappy ſtate of affairs. CHAP. XXXV. 1770.

" That he had heard with great concern of the diſtemper among the cattle, and was very ready to give his approbation to thoſe prudent meaſures which the Council had taken for putting a ſtop to ſo dreadful a calamity. That he was ſatisfied there was a power in ſome degree arbitrary, with which the Conſtitution truſted the Crown, to be made uſe of under correction of the Legiſlature, and at the hazard of the Miniſter, upon any ſudden emergency, or unforeſeen calamity, which might threaten the welfare of the people, or the ſafety of the ſtate. That on this principle he had himſelf adviſed a meaſure, which he knew was not ſtrictly legal; but he had recommended it as a meaſure of neceſſity, to ſave a ſtarv-

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CHAP. XXXV. 1770. ing people from famine, and had submitted to the judgment of his country.

"That he was extremely glad to hear what he owned he did not believe when he came into the House, that the King had reason to expect that his endeavours to secure the peace of this country would be successful, for that certainly a peace was never so necessary as at a time when we were torn to pieces by divisions and distractions in every part of his Majesty's dominions. That he had always considered the late peace, however necessary in the then exhausted condition of this country, as by no means equal in point of advantage to what he had a right to expect from the successes of the war, and from the still more exhausted condition of our enemies. That having deserted our allies, we were left without alliances, and during a peace of seven years, had been every moment on the verge of a war: that, on the contrary, France had attentively cultivated her allies, particularly Spain, by every mark of cordiality and respect. That if a war was unavoidable, we must enter into it without a single ally, while

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while the whole Houfe of Bourbon was united within itfelf, and fupported by the clofeft connexions with the principal powers in Europe. That the fituation of our foreign affairs was undoubtedly a matter of moment, and highly worthy their Lordfhips' confideration; but that he declared with grief, there were other matters ftill more important, and more urgently demanding their attention. He meant the diftractions and divifions which prevailed in every part of the empire. He lamented the unhappy meafure which had divided the colonies from the mother country, and which he feared had drawn them into exceffes which he could not juftify. He owned his natural partiality to America, and was inclined to make allowance even for thofe exceffes. That they ought to be treated with tendernefs; for in his fenfe they were ebullitions of liberty, which broke out upon the fkin, and were a fign, if not of perfect health, at leaft of vigorous conftitution, and muft not be driven in too fuddenly, left they fhould ftrike to the heart. He profeffed himfelf entirely ignorant of the prefent ftate of America, therefore fhould be cautious of giving any opinion of the meafures fit to be purfued

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pursued with respect to that country. That it was a maxim he had observed through life, when he had lost way, to stop short, lest by proceeding without knowledge, and advancing (as he feared a noble Duke had done) from one false step to another, he should wind himself into an inextricable labyrinth, and never be able to recover the right road again. That as the House had yet no materials before them, by which they might judge of the proceedings of the colonies, he strongly objected to their passing that heavy censure upon them, which was conveyed in the word *unwarrantable*, contained in the proposed address. That it was passing a sentence without hearing the cause, or being acquainted with facts, and might expose the proceedings of the House to be received abroad with indifference or disrespect. That if *unwarrantable* meant any thing, it must mean illegal; and how could their Lordships decide that proceedings, which had not been stated to them in any shape, were contrary to law? That what he had heard of the combinations in America, and of their success in supplying themselves with goods of their own manufacture, had indeed alarmed him much

much for the commercial interefts of the mother country; but he could not conceive in what fenfe they could be called illegal, much lefs how a declaration of that Houfe could remove the evil. That they were *dangerous* indeed, and he greatly wifhed to have that word fubftituted for unwarrantable. That we muft look for other remedies. That the difcontent of two millions of people deferved confiderat on; and the foundation of it ought to be removed. That this was the true way of putting a ftop to combinations and manufact res in that country; but that he referved himfelf to give his opinion more particularly upon this fubject, when authentic information of the ftate of America fhould be laid before the Houfe; declaring only for the prefent, that we fhould be cautious how we invade the liberties of any part of our fellow fubjects, however remote in fituation, or unable to make refiftance. That liberty was a plant that deferved to be cherifhed; that he loved the tree, and wifhed well to every branch of it. That, like the vine in the Scripture, it had fpread from eaft to weft, had embraced whole nations with its branches, and fheltered them under its leaves.

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That

CHAP. XXXV. 1770. That the Americans had purchased their liberty at a dear rate, since they had quitted their native country, and gone in search of freedom to a desert.

'That the parts of the address which he had already touched upon, however important in themselves, bore no comparison with that which still remained. That indeed there never was a time, at which the unanimity recommended to them by the King, was more necessary than at present; but he differed very much from the noble Duke, with respect to the propriety or utility of those general assurances contained in the latter part of the address. That the most perfect harmony in that House would have but little effect towards quieting the minds of the people, and removing their discontent. That it was the duty of that House to enquire into the causes of the notorious dissatisfaction expressed by the whole English nation, to state those causes to the Sovereign, and then to give him their best advice in what manner he ought to act. That the privileges of the House of Peers, however transcendant, however appropriated to them, stood in fact

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fact upon the broad bottom of the people. They were no longer in the condition of the barons, their anceſtors, who had ſeparate intereſts and ſeparate ſtrength to ſupport them. The rights of the greateſt and of the meaneſt ſubjects now ſtood upon the ſame foundation: the ſecurity of law, common to all. It was therefore their higheſt intereſt, as well as their duty, to watch over, and guard the people; for when the people had loſt their rights, thoſe of the Peerage would ſoon become inſignificant. To argue from experience, he begged leave to refer their Lordſhips to a moſt important paſſage in hiſtory, deſcribed by a man of great abilities, Mr. *Robertſon*. This writer, in his life of *Charles* the *Fifth* (a great, ambitious, wicked man), informs us that the Peers of Caſtile were ſo far cajoled and ſeduced by him, as to join him in overturning that part of the Cortez, which repreſented the people. They were weak enough to adopt, and baſe enough to be flattered with an expectation, that by aſſiſting their maſter in this iniquitous purpoſe, they ſhould encreaſe their own ſtrength and importance. What was the conſequence? They exchanged the conſtituti-

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onal authority of Peers, for the titular vanity of Grandees. They were no longer a part of a Parliament, for *that* they had deftroyed; and when they pretended to have an opinion as Grandees, he told them he did not underftand it; and naturally enough, when they had furrendered their authority, treated their advice with contempt. The confequences did not ftop here. He made ufe of the people whom he had enflaved to enflave others, and employed the ftrength of the Caftilians to deftroy the rights of their free neighbours of Arragon.

' My Lords, let this example be a leffon to us all. Let us be cautious how we admit an idea, that *our* rights ftand on a footing different from thofe of the people. Let us be cautious how we invade the liberties of our fellow-fubjects, however mean, however remote; for be affured, my Lords, that in whatever part of the empire you fuffer flavery to be eftablifhed, whether it be in America or in Ireland, or here at home, you will find it a difeafe which fpreads by contact, and foon reaches from the extremities to the heart. The man who has loft his own freedom, becomes

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from that moment an inftrument in the hands of an ambitious prince, to deftroy the freedom of others. Thefe reflections, my Lords, are but too applicable to our prefent fituation. The liberty of the fubject is invaded, not only in provinces, but here at home. The Englifh people are loud in their complaints: they proclaim with one voice the injuries they have received: they demand redrefs, and depend upon it, my Lords, that one way or other, they *will have* redrefs. They will never return to a ftate of tranquillity until they *are* redreffed; *nor ought they*; for in my judgement, my Lords, and I fpeak it boldly, it were better for them to perifh in a glorious contention for their rights, than to purchafe a flavifh tranquillity at the expence of a fingle iota of the Conftitution. Let me entreat your Lordfhips, then, in the name of all the duties you owe to your Sovereign, to your country, and to yourfelves, to perform that office to which you are called by the Conftitution; by informing his Majefty truly of the condition of his fubjects, and of the real caufe of their diffatisfaction. I have confidered the matter with moft ferious attention; and as I have not in my

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own breaſt the ſmalleſt doubt that the preſent univerſal diſcontent of the nation ariſes from the proceedings of the Houſe of Commons upon the expulſion of Mr. *Wilkes*, I think that we ought, in our addreſs, to ſtate that matter to the King. I have drawn up an amendment to the addreſs, which I beg leave to ſubmit to the conſideration of the Houſe:

"And for theſe great and eſſential purpoſes, we will with all convenient ſpeed take into our moſt ſerious conſideration, the cauſes of the diſcontents which prevail in ſo many parts of your Majeſty's dominions, and particularly the late proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, touching the incapacity of *John Wilkes*, Eſq. (expelled by that Houſe) to be elected a member to ſerve in this preſent Parliament, thereby refuſing (by a reſolution of one branch of the Legiſlature only) to the ſubject his common right, and depriving the electors of Middleſex of their free choice of a repreſentative."

'The cautious and guarded terms in which this amendment is drawn up, will, I hope, reconcile every noble Lord who

hears

hears me to my opinion; and as I think no man can dispute the truth of the facts, so I am persuaded no man can dispute the propriety and necessity of laying those facts before his Majesty.' CHAP. XXXV. 1770.

' Lord *Mansfield**. He began with affirming, that he had never delivered any opinion upon the legality of the proceedings of the House of Commons on the Middlesex election, nor should he now, notwithstanding any thing that might be expected from him. That he had locked it up in his own breast, and it should die with him: that he wished to avoid speaking on the subject; but that the motion made by the noble Lord, was of a nature too extraordinary and too alarming, to suffer him to be silent. He acknowledged the unhappy distracted state of the nation; but *he* was happy enough to affirm, with a safe conscience, that he had no ways contributed to it. That, in his own opinion, declarations of the law made by Ld. Mansfield's Speech. M. S.

* This noble Lord's answer (taken also from the same Gentleman's notes) it is necessary to insert, on account of Lord *Chatham's* reply, which follows it.

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either Houſe of Parliament were always attended with bad effects: he had conſtantly oppoſed them whenever he had an opportunity, and in his judicial capacity thought himſelf bound never to pay the leaſt regard to them. That although thoroughly convinced of the illegality of general warrants, which, indeed, naming no perſons, were no warrants at all, he was ſorry to ſee the Houſe of Commons by their vote declare them to be illegal. That it looked like a legiſlative act, which yet had no force nor effect as a law: for ſuppoſing the Houſe had declared them to be legal, the Courts in Weſtminſter would nevertheleſs have been bound to declare the contrary; and conſequently to throw a diſreſpect upon the vote of the Houſe: but he made a wide diſtinction between the general declarations of law, and the particular deciſion which might be made by either Houſe, in their judicial capacity, upon a caſe coming regularly before them, and properly the ſubject of their juriſdiction. That here they did not act as Legiſlators, pronouncing abſtractly and generally what the law was, and for the directions of others; but as Judges, drawing the

the law from the ſeveral ſources from which it ought to be drawn, for their own guidance in deciding the particular queſtion before them, and applying it ſtrictly to the deciſion of that queſtion. That, for his own part, wherever the Statute law was ſilent, he knew not where to look for the law of Parliament, or for a definition of the privileges of either Houſe, except in the proceedings and deciſions of each Houſe reſpectively. That he knew of no parliamentary code to judge of queſtions depending upon the judicial authority of Parliament, but the practice of each Houſe, moderated or extended according to the wiſdom of the Houſe, and accommodated to the caſes before them. That a queſtion touching the ſeat of a Member in the Lower Houſe, could only be determined by that Houſe; there was no other Court where it could be tried, nor to which there could be an appeal from their deciſion. That wherever a Court of Juſtice is ſupreme, and their ſentence final (which he apprehended no man would diſpute was the caſe in the Houſe of Commons, in matters touching elections), the determination of that Court muſt be received and ſubmitted to as the law

CHAP. XXXV. 1770. law of the land; for if there be no appeal from a judicial ſentence, where ſhall that ſentence be queſtioned, or how can it be reverſed? He admitted that Judges might be corrupt, and their ſentences erroneous; but theſe were caſes, for which, in reſpect to Supreme Courts, the Conſtitution had provided no remedy. That if they wilfully determined wrong, it was iniquitous indeed, and in the higheſt degree deteſtable. But it was a crime, of which no human tribunal could take cognizance, and it lay between God and their conſciences. That he avoided entering into the merits of the late deciſion of the Houſe of Commons, becauſe it was a ſubject he was convinced the Lords had no right to enquire into, or diſcuſs. That the amendment propoſed by the noble Lord threatened the moſt pernicious conſequences to the nation, as it manifeſtly violated every form and law of Parliament, was a groſs attack upon the privileges of the Houſe of Commons, and, inſtead of promoting that harmony which the King had recommended, muſt inevitably throw the whole country into a flame. That there never was an inſtance of the Lords enquiring into the proceedings of the Houſe

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of Commons with respect to their own Members; much less of their taking upon them to censure such proceedings, or of their advising the Crown to take notice of them. If, indeed, it be the noble Lord's design to quarrel with the House of Commons, I confess it will have that effect, and immediately. The Lower House will undoubtedly assert their privileges, and give you vote for vote. I leave it, therefore, to your Lordships, to consider the fatal effects which may arise in such a conjuncture as the present, either from an open breach between the two Houses of Parliament, or between the King and the House of Commons. But, my Lords, if I could suppose it were even adviseable to promote a disagreement between the two Houses, I would still recommend it to you to take care to be in the right; whenever I am forced into a quarrel, I will always endeavour to have justice on my side. Now, my Lords, admitting the House of Commons to have done wrong, will it mend the matter for your Lordships to do ten times worse? and that I am clearly convinced would be the case, if your Lordships were obliged to declare

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any opinion of your own, or offer any advice to the Crown, on a matter in which, by the Conftitution of this country, you have no right whatever to interfere. I will go farther, my Lords; I will affirm, that fuch a ftep would be as ineffectual as it would be irregular. Suppofe the King, in confequence of our advice, fhould diffolve the Parliament (for that, I prefume, is the true object of the noble Lord's amendment), the next Houfe of Commons that meets, if they know any thing of their own privileges, or the laws of this country, will undoubtedly, on the very firft day of the feffion, take notice of our proceedings, and declare them to be a violation of the rights of the Commons. They muft do fo, my Lords; or they will fhamefully betray their conftituents and themfelves. A noble Lord (Lord *Marchmont)* near me, has propofed, that we fhould demand a conference with the other Houfe. It would be a more moderate ftep, I confefs, but equally ineffectual. The Commons would never fubmit to difcufs their own privileges with the Lords. They would not come to a conference upon fuch a fubject; or if they did come, they would foon break it up with indignation. If, then, the

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Commons have done wrong, I know of no remedy, but either that the ſame power ſhould undo the miſchief they have done, or that the caſe ſhould be provided for by an act of the legiſlature. That, indeed, might be effectual. But whether ſuch a remedy be proper or neceſſary in the preſent caſe, or whether, indeed, it be attainable, conſidering that the other Houſe muſt give their conſent to it, is not a queſtion now before us. If ſuch a bill ſhould be propoſed, it will be regular and Parliamentary, and we may then, with propriety, enter into the legal merits of the deciſion of the Houſe of Commons. As for the amendment propoſed by the noble Lord, I object to it as irregular and unparliamentary. I am perſuaded, that it will be attended with very pernicious conſequences to this country, and that it cannot poſſibly produce a ſingle good one.

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Earl of *Chatham*. 'My Lords, there is one plain maxim, to which I have invariably adhered through life: That in every queſtion, in which my liberty, or my property were concerned, I ſhould conſult and be determined by the dictates of common ſenſe.

Lord Chatham. M. S.

CHAP. XXXV. 1770. ſenſe. I confeſs, my Lords, that I am apt to diſtruſt the refinements of learning, becauſe I have ſeen the ableſt and the moſt learned men equally liable to deceive themſelves, and to miſlead others. The condition of human nature would be lamentable indeed, if nothing leſs than the greateſt learning and talents, which fall to the ſhare of ſo ſmall a number of men, were ſufficient to direct our judgment and our conduct. But Providence has taken better care of our happineſs, and given us, in the ſimplicity of common ſenſe, a rule for our direction, by which we ſhall never be miſled. I confeſs, my Lords, I had no other guide in drawing up the amendment, which I ſubmitted to your conſideration; and before I heard the opinion of the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, I did not conceive that it was even within the limits of poſſibility for the greateſt human genius, the moſt ſubtle underſtanding, or the acuteſt wit, ſo ſtrangely to miſrepreſent my meaning, and to give it an interpretation ſo entirely foreign from what I intended to expreſs, and from that ſenſe which the very terms of the amendment plainly and diſtinctly carry with them. If there be the ſmalleſt foundation for the cenſure

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ſure thrown upon me by that noble Lord, if, either expreſsly, or by the moſt diſtant implication, I have ſaid or inſinuated any part of what the noble Lord has charged me with, diſcard my opinions for ever, diſcard the motion with contempt.

'My Lords, I muſt beg the indulgence of the Houſe. Neither will my health permit me, nor do I pretend to be qualified to follow that learned Lord minutely through the whole of his argument. No man is better acquainted with his abilities and learning, nor has a greater reſpect for them, than I have. I have had the pleaſure of ſitting with him in the other Houſe, and always liſtened to him with attention. I have not now loſt a word of what he ſaid, NOR DID I EVER. Upon the preſent queſtion I meet him without fear. The evidence which truth carries with it, is ſuperior to all argument; it neither wants the ſupport, nor dreads the oppoſition of the greateſt abilities. If there be a ſingle word in the amendment to juſtify the interpretation which the noble Lord has been pleaſed to give it, I am ready to renounce the whole: let it be read, my Lords; let it ſpeak for itſelf.

CHAP. XXXV. 1770. itſelf. *(It was read)*—In what inſtance does it interfere with the privileges of the Houſe of Commons? In what reſpect does it queſtion their juriſdiction, or ſuppoſe an authority in this Houſe to arraign the juſtice of their ſentence? I am ſure that every Lord who hears me, will bear me witneſs, that I ſaid not one word touching the merits of the Middleſex election; ſo far from conveying any opinion upon that matter in the amendment, I did not even in diſcourſe deliver my own ſentiments upon it. I did not ſay that the Houſe of Commons had done either right or wrong; but, when his Majeſty was pleaſed to recommend it to us to cultivate unanimity amongſt ourſelves, I thought it the duty of this Houſe, as the great hereditary council of the Crown, to ſtate to his Majeſty the diſtracted condition of his dominions, together with the events which had deſtroyed unanimity among his ſubjects. But, my Lords, I ſtated thoſe events merely as facts, without the ſmalleſt addition either of cenſure or of opinion. They are facts, my Lords, which I am not only convinced are true, but which I know are indiſputably true. For example, my Lords: will any man deny that diſcon-

tents

tents prevail in many parts of his Majeſty's dominions? or that thoſe diſcontents ariſe from the proceedings of the Houſe of Commons touching the declared incapacity of Mr. *Wilkes?* 'Tis impoſſible: no man can deny a truth ſo notorious. Or will any man deny that thoſe proceedings refuſed, by a reſolution of one branch of the legiſlature only, to the ſubject his common right? Is it not indiſputably true, my Lords, that Mr. *Wilkes had* a common right, and that he loſt it no other way but by a reſolution of the Houſe of Commons? My Lords, I have been tender of miſrepreſenting the Houſe of Commons: I have conſulted their journals, and have taken the very words of their own reſolution. Do they not tell us in ſo many words, that Mr. *Wilkes* having been expelled, was thereby rendered incapable of ſerving in that Parliament! and is it not their reſolution alone, which refuſes to the ſubject his common right? The amendment ſays farther, that the electors of Middleſex are deprived of their free choice of a repreſentative. Is this a falſe fact, my Lords? or have I given an unfair repreſentation of it? Will any man preſume to affirm that Colonel Luttrell is the free choice of the electors

of

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of Middlesex? We all know the contrary. We all know that Mr. Wilkes (whom I mention without either praise or censure) was the favourite of the county, and chosen by a very great and acknowledged majority, to represent them in Parliament. If the noble Lord dislikes the manner in which these facts are stated, I shall think myself happy in being advised by him how to alter it. I am very little anxious about terms, provided the substances be preserved; and these are facts, my Lords, which I am sure will always retain their weight and importance, in whatever form of language they are described.

'Now, my Lords, since I have been forced to enter into the explanation of an amendment, in which nothing less than the genius of penetration could have discovered an obscurity, and having, as I hope, redeemed myself in the opinion of the House, having redeemed my motion from the severe representation given of it by the noble Lord, I must a little longer intreat your Lordships' indulgence. The constitution of this country has been openly invaded in fact; and I have heard, with horror and astonishment that very invasion defended upon principle.

What

What is this myſterious power, undefined by law, unknown to the ſubject, which we muſt not approach without awe, nor ſpeak of without reverence, which no man may queſtion, and to which all men muſt ſubmit? My Lords, I thought the ſlaviſh doctrine of paſſive obedience had long ſince been exploded: and, when our kings were obliged to confeſs that their title to the crown, and the rule of their government, had no other foundation than the known laws of the land, I never expected to hear a divine right, or a divine infallibility, attributed to any other branch of the legiſlature. My Lords, I beg to be underſtood, no man reſpects the Houſe of Commons more than I do, or would contend more ſtrenuouſly than I would, to preſerve them their juſt and legal authority. Within the bounds preſcribed by the Conſtitution, that authority is neceſſary to the well-being of the people: beyond that line every exertion of power is arbitrary, is illegal; it threatens tyranny to the people, and deſtruction to the ſtate. Power without right is the moſt odious and deteſtable object that can be offered to the human imagination: it is not only pernicious to thoſe who are ſubject to it, but tends to its

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its own deſtruction. It is what my noble friend (Lord *Lyttleton*) has truly deſcribed it, *Res deteſtabilis et caduca*. My Lords, I acknowledge the juſt power, and reverence the conſtitution of the Houſe of Commons. It is for their own ſakes that I would prevent their aſſuming a power which the conſtitution has denied them, leſt, by graſping at an authority they have no right to, they ſhould forfeit that which they legally poſſeſs. My Lords, I affirm that they have betrayed their conſtituents, and violated the conſtitution. Under pretence of declaring the law, they have *made* a law, and united in the ſame perſons the office of legiſlator and of judge.

'I ſhall endeavour to adhere ſtrictly to the noble Lord's doctrine, which is indeed impoſſible to miſtake, ſo far as my memory will permit me to preſerve his expreſſions. He ſeems fond of the word juriſdiction; and I confeſs, with the force and effect which he has given it, it is a word of copious meaning and wonderful extent. If his Lordſhip's doctrine be well founded, we muſt renounce all thoſe political maxims by which our underſtandings have

haye hitherto been directed, and even the first elements of learning taught us in our schools when we were school-boys. My Lords, we knew that jurisdiction was nothing more than *Jus dicere;* we knew that *Legem facere* and *Legem dicere* were powers clearly distinguished from each other in the nature of things, and wisely separated by the wisdom of the English Constitution; but now, it seems, we must adopt a new system of thinking. The House of Commons, we are told, have a supreme jurisdiction; and there is no appeal from their sentence; and that wherever they are competent judges, their decision must be received and submitted to, as *ipso facto,* the law of the land. My lords, I am a plain man, and have been brought up in a religious reverence for the original simplicity of the laws of England. By what sophistry they have been perverted, by what artifices they have been involved in obscurity, is not for me to explain; the principles, however, of the English laws, are still sufficiently clear: they are founded in reason, and are the master-piece of the human understanding; but it is in the text that I would look for a direction to my judgment, not in the

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commentaries of modern profeffors. The noble Lord affures us, that he knows not in what code the law of Parliament is to be found; that the Houfe of Commons, when they act as judges, have no law to direct them but their own wifdom; that their decifion is law; and if they determine wrong, the fubject has no appeal but to Heaven. What then, my Lords, are all the generous efforts of our anceftors, are all thofe glorious contentions, by which they meant to fecure to themfelves, and to tranfmit to their pofterity a known law, a certain rule of living; reduced to this conclufion, that inftead of the arbitrary power of a King, we muft fubmit to the arbitrary power of an Houfe of Commons? If this be true, what benefit do we derive from the exchange? Tyranny, my Lords, is deteftable in every fhape; but in none fo formidable as when it is affumed and exercifed by a number of tyrants. But, my Lords, this is not the fact, this is not the conftitution; we *have* a law of Parliament, we *have* a code in which every honeft man may find it. We have Magna Charta, we have the Statute Book, and the Bill of Rights.

"If a caſe ſhould ariſe unknown to theſe great authorities, we have ſtill that plain Engliſh reaſon left, which is the foundation of all our Engliſh juriſprudence. That reaſon tells us, that every Judicial Court, and every Political Society, muſt be veſted with thoſe powers and privileges which are neceſſary for performing the office to which they are appointed. It tells us alſo, that no Court of Juſtice can have a power inconſiſtent with, or paramount to, the known laws of the land: that the people, when they chooſe their repreſentatives, never mean to convey to them a power of invading the rights, or trampling upon the liberties of thoſe whom they repreſent. What ſecurity would they have for their rights, if once they admitted, that a Court of Judicature might determine every queſtion that came before it, not by any known, poſitive law, but by the vague, indeterminate, arbitrary rule, of what the noble Lord is pleaſed to call *the Wiſdom of the Court?* With reſpect to the deciſion of the Courts of Juſtice, I am far from denying them their due weight and authority; yet, placing them in the moſt reſpectable view, I ſtill conſider them, not as law, but as an evidence of the

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law; and before they can arrive even at that degree of authority, it muſt appear, that they are founded in, and confirmed by, reaſon; that they are ſupported by precedents taken from good and moderate times; that they do not contradict any poſitive law; that they are ſubmitted to without reluctance, by the people; that they are unqueſtioned by the legiſlature (which is equivalent to a tacit confirmation); and, what, in my judgment, is by far the moſt important, that they do not violate the ſpirit of the Conſtitution. My Lords, this is not a vague or looſe expreſſion: we all know what the Conſtitution is, we all know, that the firſt principle of it is, that the ſubject ſhall not be governed by the *arbitrium* of any one man, or body of men (leſs than the whole legiſlature), but by certain laws, to which he has virtually given his conſent, which are open to him to examine, and not beyond his ability to underſtand.—Now, my Lords, I affirm, and am ready to maintain, that the late deciſion of the Houſe of Commons upon the Middleſex election, is deſtitute of every one of thoſe properties and conditions which I hold to be eſſential to the legality of ſuch a deciſion. It is not

founded

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founded in reafon; for it carries with it a contradiction, that the reprefentative fhould perform the office of the conftituent body. It is not fupported by a fingle precedent; for the cafe of Sir *R. Walpole* is but a half precedent, and even that half is imperfect. Incapacity was indeed declared, but his crimes are ftated as the ground of the refolution, and his opponent was declared to be not duly elected, even after his incapacity was eftablifhed. It contradicts Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, by which it is provided, that no fubject fhall be deprived of his freehold, unlefs by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land; and that elections of members to ferve in Parliament fhall be free; and fo far is this decifion from being fubmitted to by the people, that they have taken the ftrongeft meafures, and adopted the moft pofitive language to exprefs their difcontent. Whether it will be queftioned by the legiflature, will depend upon your Lordfhip's refolution; but that it violates the fpirit of the Conftitution, will, I think, be difputed by no man who has heard this day's debate, and who wifhes well to the freedom of his country; yet, if we are to believe the noble Lord, this great

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grievance, this manifest violation of the first principles of the Constitution, will not admit of a remedy; is not even capable of redress, unless we appeal at once to Heaven. My Lords, I have better hopes of the Constitution, and a firmer confidence in the wisdon and constitutional authority of this House. It is *your* ancestors, my Lords,—it is to the English Barons that we are indebted for the Laws and Constitution we possess. Their virtues were rude and uncultivated, but they were great and sincere. Their understandings were as little polished as their manners, but they had hearts to distinguish right from wrong, they had heads to distinguish truth from falsehood; they understood the rights of humanity, and they had spirit to maintain them.

My Lords, I think, that history has not done justice to their conduct, when they obtained from their Sovereign, that great acknowledgment of national rights contained in Magna Charta: they did not confine it to themselves alone, but delivered it as a common blessing to the whole people. They did not say, These are the rights of the great Barons, or these are rights of the great

Prelates:

Prelates:—No, my Lords; they ſaid, in the ſimple Latin of the times, *nullus liber homo*, and provided as carefully for the meaneſt ſubject as for the greateſt. Theſe are uncouth words, and ſound but poorly in the ears of ſcholars; neither are they addreſſed to the criticiſm of ſcholars, but to the hearts of free men. Theſe three words, *nullus liber homo*, have a meaning which intereſts us all; they deſerve to be remembered—they deſerve to be inculcated in our minds—they are worth all the claſſics. Let us not, then, degenerate from the glorious example of our anceſtors. Thoſe Iron Barons (for ſo I may call them when compared with the Silken Barons of modern days), were the Guardians of the People; yet *their* virtues, my Lords, were never engaged in a queſtion of ſuch importance as the preſent. A breach has been made in the Conſtitution—the battlements are diſmantled—the citadel is open to the firſt invader—the walls totter—the Conſtitution is not tenable.—What remains then, but for *us* to ſtand foremoſt in the breach, to repair it, or periſh in it?

"Great pains have been taken to alarm us with the conſequences of a difference

 between

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between the two Houſes of Parliament— That the Houſe of Commons will reſent our preſuming to take notice of their proceedings; that they will reſent our daring to adviſe the Crown, and never forgive us for attempting to ſave the State.—My Lords, I am ſenſible of the importance and difficulty of this great criſis: at a moment, ſuch as this, we are called upon to our duty, without dreading the reſentment of any man. But if apprehenſions of this kind are to affect us, let us conſider which we ought to reſpect moſt—the repreſentative, or the collective body of the people.—My Lords, five hundred gentlemen are not ten millions; and if we *muſt* have a contention, let us take care to have the Engliſh nation on our ſide. If this queſtion be given up, the freeholders of England are reduced to a condition baſer than the peaſantry of Poland. If they deſert their own cauſe, they deſerve to be ſlaves!—My Lords, this is not merely the cold opinion of my underſtanding, but the glowing expreſſion of what I feel. It is my heart that ſpeaks: I know I ſpeak warmly, my Lords; but this warmth ſhall neither betray my argument nor my temper. The kingdom is in a flame. As

mediators

mediators between the King and people, it is our duty to represent to him the true condition and temper of his subjects. It is a duty which no particular respects should hinder us from performing; and whenever his Majesty shall demand our advice, it will then be our duty to enquire more minutely into the causes of the present discontents. Whenever that enquiry shall come on, I pledge myself to the House to prove, that since the first institution of the House of Commons, not a single precedent can be produced to justify their late proceedings. My noble and learned friend (the Lord Chancellor) has pledged himself to the House, that he will support that assertion.

'My Lords, the character and circumstances of Mr. *Wilkes* have been very improperly introduced into this question, not only here, but in that court of judicature where his cause was tried: I mean the House of Commons. With one party he was a patriot of the first magnitude; with the other the vilest incendiary. For my own part, I consider him merely and indifferently as an English subject, possessed of certain rights

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rights which the laws have given him, and which the laws alone can take from him. I am neither moved by his private vices, nor by his public merits. In *his* perſon, though he were the *worſt* of men, I contend for the ſafety and ſecurity of the beſt; and, God forbid, my Lords, that there ſhould be a power in this country of meaſuring the civil rights of the ſubject by his moral character, or by any other rule but the fixed laws of the land! I believe, my Lords, *I* ſhall not be ſuſpected of any perſonal partiality to this unhappy man: I am not very converſant in pamphlets or newſpapers; but, from what I have heard, and from the little I have read, I may venture to affirm, that I have had my ſhare in the compliments which have come from that quarter; and as for motives of ambition (for I muſt take to myſelf a part of the noble Duke's inſinuation), I believe, my Lords, there have been times in which I have had the honour of ſtanding in ſuch favour in the cloſet, that there muſt have been ſomething extravagantly unreaſonable in my wiſhes if they might not *all* have been gratified; after neglecting thoſe opportunities, I am now ſuſpected of coming forward in the decline of life, in the anxious

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anxious purſuit of wealth and power, which it is impoſſible for me to enjoy. Be it ſo; there is one ambition at leaſt which I ever will acknowledge, which I will not renounce but with my life. It is the ambition of delivering to my poſterity thoſe rights of freedom which I have received from my anceſtors. I am not now pleading the cauſe of an individual, but of every freeholder in England. In what manner this Houſe may conſtitutionally interpoſe in their defence, and what kind of redreſs this caſe will require and admit of, is not at preſent the ſubject of our conſideration. The amendment, if agreed to, will naturally lead us to ſuch an enquiry. That enquiry may, perhaps, point out the neceſſity of an act of the legiſlature, or it may lead us, perhaps, to deſire a conference with the other Houſe; which one noble Lord affirms is the only parliamentary way of proceeding; and which another noble Lord aſſures us the Houſe of Commons would either not come to, or would break off with indignation. Leaving their Lordſhips to reconcile that matter between themſelves, I ſhall only say, that before we have enquired, we cannot be provided with materials, conſequently

CHAP. XXXV. 1770. quently we are not at prefent prepared for a conference.

'It is impoffible, my Lords, that the enquiry I fpeak of may lead us to advife his Majefty to diffolve the prefent parliament; nor have I any doubt of our right to give that advice, if we fhould think it neceffary. His Majefty will then determine whether he will yield to the united petitions of the people of England, or maintain the Houfe of Commons in the exercife of a legiflative power, which heretofore abolifhed the Houfe of Lords, and overturned the monarchy. I willingly acquit the prefent Houfe of Commons of having actually formed fo deteftable a defign; but they cannot themfelves forefee to what exceffes they may be carried hereafter; and for my own part, I fhould be forry to truft to their future moderation. Unlimited power is apt to corrupt the minds of thofe who poffefs it; and this I know my Lords, that, where law ends, tyranny begins!'

The amendment was negatived. But in confequence of this ftrong and public arraignment of the Miniftry, feveral of them

refigned,

resigned. Lord *Chatham's* information of the proceedings of the Cabinet Council was supposed to have been derived from Lord *Camden*, who, at that time, was Lord Chancellor; and he having this day divided with Lord *Chatham*, the Great Seal was immediately taken from him.

Mr. *Yorke* was prevailed upon by his Majesty to accept the Seal; and in a few hours afterwards he put a period to his own existence.

Notwithstanding the several resignations, some of them of the first families of the kingdom, which took place at this time,—notwithstanding the general dissatisfaction and ferment which prevailed throughout the nation—notwithstanding the circumstances of the recent and tragical death of Mr. *Yorke*—still the Court persevered, and resolved to persevere in their measures*.

* The success of the Court in this perseverance against the petitions of the people of England, encouraged the Court in the same perseverance against the petitions of the people of America; which followed soon after. But the Americans being farther removed from the scene of corruption, were not debilitated by its poison. They retained the vigour and virtue of their ancestors.

CHAP.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARA

CHAP. XXXVI.

Speeches of the Marquis of Rockingham, the Duke of Grafton, and Lord Chatham, on the State of the Nation—Union of Lord Chatham with Lord Rockingham—Duke of Grafton resigns.

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ON the twenty-ſecond of January, the Marquis of *Rockingham* moved for fixing a day to take into conſideration the ſtate of the nation.

Ld. Rockingham's Speech. M. S.

'The object of his Lordſhip's ſpeech* was to ſhew, that the preſent unhappy condition of affairs, and the univerſal diſcontent of the people, did not ariſe from any immediate temporary cauſe, but had grown upon us by degrees, from the moment of his Majeſty's acceſſion to the throne. That the perſons in whom his Majeſty then confided, had introduced a total change in the old

* This ſpeech, the anſwer of the Duke of *Grafton*, and Lord *Chatham*'s reply, are printed from the notes of the ſame Gentleman who communicated the three preceding ſpeeches, made on the firſt day of the ſeſſion. They have none of them been printed before. It was neceſſary to inſert Lord *Rockingham*'s and the Duke of *Grafton*'s ſpeeches, becauſe they are introductory to Lord *Chatham*'s.

old syſtem of Engliſh Government—that CHAP. XXXVI. 1770.
they had adopted a maxim which muſt prove fatal to the liberties of this country, viz. "That the Royal Prerogative alone, was ſufficient to ſupport Government, to whatever hands the adminiſtration ſhould be committed;" and he could trace the operation of this principle through every act of Government ſince the acceſſion; in which thoſe perſons could be ſuppoſed to have any influence. Their firſt exertion of the prerogative was to make a peace contrary to the wiſhes of the nation, and on terms totally diſproportioned to the ſucceſſes of the war; but as they felt themſelves unequal to the conduct of a war, they thought a peace, on any conditions, neceſſary for their own ſecurity and permanence in Adminiſtration. He then took notice of thoſe odious tyrannical acts of power, by which an approbation of the peace had been obtained. And he mentioned the general ſweep through every branch and department of Adminiſtration; the removes not merely confined to the higher employments, but carried down, with the minuteſt cruelty to the loweſt offices of the ſtate; and numberleſs innocent families, which had ſubſiſted

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fifted on falaries from fifty to two hundred pounds a year, turned out to mifery and ruin, with as little regard to the rules of juftice, as to the common feelings of compaffion. That their ideas of taxation were marked by the fame principle. The argument urged for taxing the cyder counties, viz. "The equity of placing them on the fame footing with others, where malt liquors were chiefly ufed," was too obvious to efcape the attention of *former* minifters; but *former* minifters paid more regard to the liberties of the people, than to the improvement of the revenue. That the object of the cyder act, or the effect of it, at leaft, was not fo much to increafe the revenue, as to extend the laws of excife, and open the doors of private men to the officers of the Crown.

"Without entering into the right of taxing America, it was evident, that fince the revenue expected to arife from that meafure was allowed to be very inconfiderable, the real purpofe of government muft have been to increafe the number of their officers in that country, and confequently the ftrength of the prerogative.

He

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'He then took notice of the indecent manner with which the debt upon the King's Civil Lift had been laid before, and provided for, by Parliament. No account offered—No enquiry permitted to be made—Not even the decent fatisfaction given to Parliament of an affurance that *in future* fuch extraordinary expences fhould be avoided. On the contrary, the King's fpeech on that occafion had been fo cautioufly worded, that, far from engaging to avoid fuch exceedings for the future, it intimated plainly that the expences of the King's civil government could not be confined within the revenue granted by Parliament—That as the nation was heavily burthened by the expence, they were no lefs grofsly infulted by the manner in which that burthen was laid upon them. That, in certain grants lately made by the crown, the miniftry had adhered to their principle of carrying the prerogative to its utmoft extent. No right of property—no continuance of poffeffion had been confidered. But, if thefe had been weaker than they were, he thought fome refpect was due to the memory of the great Prince by whom thefe grants had been made; and, in com-

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mon juſtice to the noble Duke *, whoſe property had been invaded; the miniſtry ſhould, at leaſt, have avoided that hurry and precipitation, which had hardly left his Grace time to defend his rights; and by which the miniſtry themſelves ſeemed to confeſs their meaſures would not bear a more deliberate mode of proceeding. But the purpoſes of an election were to be ſerved; and the perſon, benefited by this meaſure, was ſuppoſed to be a better friend to adminiſtration than the noble Duke, whoſe property had been arbitrarily transferred to another. And when, upon occaſion of this extraordinary meaſure, and to quiet the minds of the people, a bill had been brought into parliament for ſecuring the property of the ſubject, it had been rejected the firſt year, and violently reſiſted the ſecond; but the juſtice and neceſſity of it had prevailed over the influence, and favourite maxims of the adminiſtration. That the affairs of the external part of the empire had been managed with the ſame want of wiſdom, and had been brought into nearly the ſame condition with thoſe at home. In Ireland, he

* Duke of Portland.

ſaw

ſaw the parliament prorogued, (which probably led to a diſſolution) and the affairs of that kingdom left unprovided for, and in the greateſt confuſion. That in America, meaſures of violence had been adopted, and it had been the uniform language and doctrine of the miniſtry to force that country to ſubmit. That, in his own opinion, violence would not do *there*, and he hoped it would not do *here*. But even if a plan of force were adviſeable, why had it not been adhered to? Why did they not adopt and abide by ſome *one* ſyſtem of conduct? That the King's ſpeeches, and the language of the miniſtry at home had denounced nothing but war and vengeance againſt a rebellious people, whilſt his Majeſty's governors abroad, were inſtructed to convey to them the gentleſt promiſes of relief and ſatisfaction. His Lordſhip here referred to Lord *Bottetort's* ſpeech to the aſſembly of Virginia, in May 1769, out of which he recited a paſſage in point. The paſſage was this—" *I think myſelf peculiarly fortunate to be able to inform you, that by a letter, dated May the* 13*th, I have been aſſured by the Earl of Hillſborough, that his Majeſty's preſent adminiſtration have at no time entertained a*

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design to propose to parliament to lay any further taxes upon America for the purpose of raising a revenue, and that it is their intention to propose, in the next session of parliament, to take off the duties upon glass, paper, and colours, upon consideration of such duties having been laid contrary to the true principles of commerce. See Appendix W.

'With respect to foreign affairs, he thought it highly necessary to enquire, why France had been permitted to make so considerable an acquisition as the island of Corsica? That no man could deny, that this island would prove a great addition to the strength of France, with respect to her marine; both from its harbours, and the timber it produced. He thought this attempt of France was not only unjust in itself, but directly contrary to certain stipulations in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, confirmed by that of 1763, by which it was determined and settled, "That the republic of Genoa should be entirely re-established and maintained in *all* its former states and possessions; and that, for the advantage and maintenance of the peace in general, for the tranquillity of Italy in particular, all things should

ſhould remain there in the condition they were in before the war."

His Lordſhip added, 'That he had not dwelt ſo ſtrongly as he might have done, upon that great invaſion of the conſtitution, which had now thrown this whole country into a flame: the people were ſufficiently alarmed for their rights, and he did not doubt but that matters would be duly enquired into. But he conſidered it only as the point to which all the other meaſures of the adminiſtration had tended. That when the conſtitution was violated, we ſhould not content ourſelves with repairing the ſingle breach, but look back into the cauſes, and trace the principles which had produced it, in order, not merely to reſtore the conſtitution to preſent health, but, if poſſible, make it invulnerable hereafter.

'Upon the whole, he recommended it ſtrongly to their Lordſhips, to fix an early day for taking into their conſideration the ſtate of this country in all its relations and dependencies, foreign, provincial, and domeſtic; for we had been injured in them all. That conſideration would, he hoped, lead

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CHAP. XXXVI. 1770. their Lordſhips to adviſe the crown not only how to correct paſt errors, but how to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of government more wiſe, more permanent, better ſuited to the genius of the people, and, at leaſt, conſiſtent with the ſpirit of the conſtitution.'

Duke of Grafton's Anſwer. M. S.

The Duke of *Grafton*, who ſpoke next, did not oppoſe the motion; on the contrary, 'he engaged to ſecond it, and to meet the noble Lord upon the great queſtion whenever the Houſe ſhould think proper. For the preſent, he meant only to exculpate himſelf, from ſome ſevere reflections, which he thought were directed particularly and perſonally againſt himſelf. That he was ready to juſtify the meaſures alluded to by the noble Lord, about every other part of his conduct; and he did not doubt of being able to do ſo to the ſatisfaction of the Houſe. That the reſumption made by the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, of a ſuppoſed grant of the crown land, had been moſt unfairly repreſented. He wiſhed the noble Lord, inſtead of the word *property*, had only uſed *poſſeſſion;* and then he would have truly deſcribed the fact, and the object. That upon the application made to the

the board, by the perſon who had diſcovered the defect in the noble Duke's title, he could not conſiſtently with his duty, as an officer of the crown, have rejected the claim made by that perſon. That if the noble Duke, inſtead of being an opponent, had been the warmeſt friend of an adminiſtration, the Treaſury Board could not have acted otherwiſe than they did, without a flagrant violation of juſtice; and as for that hurry and precipitation of which they were accuſed, he took upon him to contradict the noble Lord in the moſt poſitive manner, and offered to prove at the bar of that Houſe, that they had proceeded, not only with temper and deliberation, but with the utmoſt attention to the intereſts of the noble Duke, and every poſſible mark of reſpect to his perſon; and had protracted their deciſion to the very laſt moment, allowed by the rules of the Board. With reſpect to the debt upon the Civil Liſt, he neither had, nor could have, any perſonal motives for wiſhing to conceal from Parliament the particulars of the extraordinary expences, by which that debt had been incurred. That the perſons to whoſe offices it belonged, had been conſtantly employed in drawing up

CHAP. XXXVI. 1770. a ſtate of that account, and that they had received every poſſible light and information from the officers of the Crown, in order to ſhorten and facilitate the buſineſs: but it was a work of infinite labour and extent; and, notwithſtanding the utmoſt diligence in the ſeveral public offices, could not yet be completed.

'That in regard to foreign affairs, he believed the conduct of the King's Miniſters would bear the ſtricteſt examination, and would be found irreproachable. That, for his own part, he had never thought, nor had he ever affirmed, that the conditions of the late peace were ſuch as the people had a right to expect. He had maintained that opinion in former times, and no change of ſituation ſhould ever induce him to relinquiſh it. But that the peace being once made, and thoſe advantages, which we might have expected from a continuance of the war being now irrecoverable, he would never adviſe the King to engage in another war, as long as the dignity of the Crown and the real intereſts of the nation could be preſerved without it. That what we had ſuffered already by foreign connections, ought to warn us againſt engaging lightly in

in quarrels, in which we had no immediate concern, and to which we might probably ſacrifice our own moſt eſſential intereſts.' CHAP. XXXVI. 1770.

Earl of *Chatham*. ' My Lords, I meant to have riſen immediately to ſecond the motion made by the noble Lord. The charge which the noble Duke ſeemed to think affected himſelf particularly, did undoubtedly demand an early anſwer; it was proper he ſhould ſpeak before me, and I am as ready as any man to applaud the decency and propriety with which he has expreſſed himſelf. Ld. Chatham's reply. M. S.

' I entirely agree with the noble Lord, both in the neceſſiity of your Lordſhips concurring with the motion, and in the principles and arguments by which he has very judiciouſly ſupported it. I ſee clearly, that the complexion of our Government has been materially altered; and I can trace the origin of the alteration up to a period, which ought to have been an æra of happineſs and proſperity to this country.

' My Lords, I ſhall give you my reaſons for concurring with the motion, not methodically,

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thodically, but as they occur to my mind. I may wander, perhaps, from the exact parliamentary debate; but I hope I shall say nothing but what may deserve your attention, and what, if not strictly proper at present, would be fit to be said, when the state of the nation shall come to be considered. My uncertain state of health must plead my excuse. I am now in some pain, and very probably may not be able to attend my duty when I desire it most, in this House. I thank God, my Lords, for having thus long preserved, so inconsiderable a being as I am, to take a part upon this great occasion, and to contribute my endeavours, such as they are, to restore, to save, to confirm the Constitution.

'My Lords, I need not look abroad for grievances. The grand capital mischief is fixed at home. It corrupts the very foundation of our political existence, and preys upon the vitals of the State.—The Constitution has been grossly violated—THE CONSTITUTION AT THIS MOMENT STANDS VIOLATED. Until that wound be healed, until the grievance be redressed, it is in vain to recommend union to Parliament; in vain to

to promote concord among the people. If we mean ſeriouſly to unite the nation within itſelf, we muſt convince them that their complaints are regarded, that their inquiries ſhall be redreſſed. On *that* foundation I would take the lead in recommending peace and harmony to the people. On any other, I would never wiſh to ſee them united again. If the breach in the Conſtitution be effectually repaired, the people will of themſelves return to a ſtate of tranquillity—If not—MAY DISCORD PREVAIL FOR EVER. I know to what point this doctrine and this language will appear directed. But I feel the principles of an Engliſhman, and I utter them without apprehenſion or reſerve. The criſis is indeed alarming:—ſo much the more does it require a prudent relaxation on the part of Government. If the King's ſervants will not permit a conſtitutional queſtion to be decided on, according to the forms, and and on the principles of the Conſtitution, it muſt then be decided in ſome other manner; and rather than it ſhould be given up, rather than the nation ſhould ſurrender their birth-right to a deſpotic Miniſter, I hope, my Lords, old as I am, *I ſhall ſee the queſtion brought to iſſue, and fairly tried between*

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between the people and the government. My Lord, this is not the language of faction; let it be tried by that criterion, by which alone we can diſtinguiſh what is factious, from what is not—by the principles of the Engliſh Conſtitution. I have been bred up in theſe principles; and know, that when the liberty of the ſubject is invaded, and all redreſs denied him, reſiſtance is juſtified. If I had a doubt upon the matter, I ſhould follow the example ſet us by the moſt reverend bench, with whom I believe it is a maxim, when any doubt in point of faith ariſes, or any queſtion of controverſy is ſtarted, to appeal at once to the greateſt ſource and evidence of our religion—I mean the Holy Bible: the Conſtitution has its Political Bible, by which, if it be fairly conſulted, every political queſtion may, and ought to be determined. *Magna Charta,* the Petition of Rights and the Bill of Rights, form that code which, I call *the Bible of the Engliſh Conſtitution.* Had ſome of his Majeſty's unhappy predeceſſors truſted leſs to the comments of their Miniſters, had they been better read in the text itſelf, the glorious Revolution would have remained only poſſible in theory, and would not now

have

have exifted upon record a formidable example to their fucceffors.

'My Lords, I cannot agree with the noble Duke, that nothing lefs than an immediate attack upon the honour or intereft of this nation, can authorife us to interpofe in defence of weaker ftates, and in ftopping the enterprizes of an ambitious neighbour. Whenever that narrow, felfifh policy, has prevailed in our councils, we have conftantly experienced the fatal effects of it. By fuffering our natural enemies to opprefs the powers, lefs able than we are to make a refiftance, we have permitted them to encreafe their ftrength, we have loft the moft favourable opportunities of oppofing them with fuccefs; and found ourfelves at laft obliged to run every hazard, in making that caufe our own, in which we were not wife enough to take part, while the expence and danger might have been fupported by others.—With refpect to Corfica I fhall only fay, that France has obtained a more ufeful and important acquifition in one *Pacific* Campaign, than in any of her *Belligerent* Campaigns; at leaft while I had the honour of adminiftering the war againft her. The word

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word may, perhaps, be thought ſingular: I mean only while I was the Miniſter, chiefly entruſted with the conduct of the war. I remember, my Lords, the time when Lorrain was united to the Crown of France, that too was, in ſome meaſure, a pacific conqueſt; and there were people who talked of it, as the noble Duke now ſpeaks of Corſica. France was permitted to take and keep poſſeſſion of a noble province; and, according to his Grace's ideas, we did right in not oppoſing it. The effect of theſe acquiſitions, is, I confeſs, not immediate; but they unite with the main body by degrees, and, in time, make a part of the national ſtrength. I fear, my Lords, it is too much the temper of this country to be inſenſible of the approach of danger, until it comes with accumulated terror upon us.

'My Lords, the condition of his Majeſty's affairs in Ireland, and the ſtate of that kingdom within itſelf, will undoubtedly make a very material part of your Lordſhip's enquiry. I am not ſufficiently informed to enter into the ſubject ſo fully as I could wiſh; but by what appears to the public, and from my own obſervation, I confeſs

confeſs I cannot give the miniſtry much credit for the ſpirit or prudence of their conduct. I ſee, that even where their meaſures are well choſen, they are incapable of carrying them through without ſome unhappy mixture of weakneſs or imprudence.—— They are incapable of doing entirely right. My Lords, I do, from my conſcience, and from the beſt weighed principles of my underſtanding, applaud the augmentation of the army. As a military plan, I believe it has been judiciouſly arranged. In a political view, I am convinced it was for the welfare, for the ſafety of the whole empire. But, my Lords, with all theſe advantages, with all theſe recommendations, if I had the honour of adviſing his Majeſty, I would never have conſented to his accepting the augmentation, with that abſurd diſhonourable condition, which the miniſtry have ſubmitted to annex to it. My Lords, I revere the juſt prerogative of the crown, and would contend for it as warmly as for the rights of the people. They are linked together, and naturally ſupport each other. I would not touch a feather of the prerogative. The expreſſion, perhaps, is too light; but ſince I have made uſe of it, let me add, that

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that the intire command and power of directing the local diſpoſition of the army is the royal prerogative, as the maſter-feather in the eagle's wing; and if I were permitted to carry the alluſion a little farther, I would ſay, they have diſarmed the imperial bird, the "*Miniſtrum Fulminis Alitem.*" The army is the thunder of the crown.—The miniſtry have tied up the hand which ſhould direct the bolt.

'My Lords, I remember that Minorca was loſt for want of four battalions. They could not be ſpared from hence; and there was a delicacy about taking them from Ireland. I was one of thoſe, who promoted an enquiry into that matter in the other houſe; and I was convinced we had not regular troops ſufficient for the neceſſary ſervice of the nation. Since the moment the plan of augmentation was firſt talked of, I have conſtantly and warmly ſupported it among my friends: I have recommended it to ſeveral members of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, and exhorted them to ſupport it with their utmoſt intereſt in parliament. I did not foreſee, nor could I conceive it poſſible, the miniſtry would accept of it, with a condition that

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that makes the plan itſelf ineffectual, and, as far as it operates, defeats every uſeful purpoſe of maintaining a ſtanding military force. His Majeſty is now ſo confined, by his promiſe, that he muſt leave twelve thouſand men locked up in Ireland, let the ſituation of his affairs abroad, or the approach of danger to this country, be ever ſo alarming, unleſs there be an actual rebellion, or invaſion, in Great Britain. Even in the two caſes excepted by the king's promiſe, the miſchief muſt have already begun to operate, muſt have already taken effect, before his Majeſty can be authoriſed to ſend for the aſſiſtance of his Iriſh army. He has not left himſelf the power of taking any preventative meaſures, let his intelligence be ever ſo certain, let his apprehenſions of invaſion or rebellion be ever ſo well-founded: unleſs the traitor be actually in arms; unleſs the enemy be in the heart of your country, he cannot move a ſingle man from Ireland*.

* The following is an extract of the Lord Lieutenant's meſſage to the Houſe of Commons of Ireland upon this occaſion:

"TOWNSHEND. *Gentlemen,* "I am commanded, by his "Majeſty, to acquaint you, that his Majeſty, upon the moſt ma- "ture conſideration of the ſtate and circumſtances of this kingdom "judges it abſolutely neceſſary, that a number of troops, not leſs than

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'I feel myſelf compelled, my Lords, to return to that ſubject which occupies and intereſts me moſt; I mean the internal diſorder of the conſtitution, and the remedy it demands. But firſt, I would obſerve, there is one point upon which I think the noble Duke has not explained himſelf. I do not mean to catch at words, but, if poſſible, to poſſeſs the ſenſe of what I hear. I would treat every man with candour, and ſhould expect the ſame candour in return. For the noble Duke, in particular, I have every per-

" than twelve thouſand men, commiſſioned and non-commiſſioned " officers included, ſhould be kept therein, for the better defence of " the ſame; and that his Majeſty, finding that, conſiſtent with the " general public ſervice, the number before-mentioned cannot be " conſtantly continued in Ireland, unleſs his army upon the Iriſh " eſtabliſhment be augmented to 15,235 men in the whole, com- " miſſioned and non-commiſſioned officers included: His Majeſty " earneſtly recommends it to his faithful Commons to concur in a " meaſure, which his Majeſty has extremely at heart, as neceſſary " not only for the honour and dignity of his crown, but the peace " and ſecurity of this kingdom. And I have his Majeſty's ſpecial " command to aſſure you expreſsly, in his Majeſty's name, that it " is his determined reſolution, that upon ſuch augmentation, a num- " ber of effective troops, not leſs than 12,000 men, commiſſioned " and non-commiſſioned officers included, ſhall, at all times, except " in caſes of invaſion or rebellion in Great Britain, be kept within " this kingdom, for the better defence thereof." Lord CHATHAM's reaſoning on the preſent meſſage, is certainly right, for if Engliſh miniſtry were to determine upon the neceſſity of ſending for troops from Ireland, according to their own apprehenſions or intelligence, the condition, with reſpect to Ireland, would be nugatory.

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ſonal reſpect and regard. I never deſire to underſtand him, but as he wiſhes to be underſtood. His Grace, I think, has laid much ſtreſs upon the diligence of the ſeveral public offices, and the aſſiſtance given them by the Adminiſtration, in preparing a ſtate of the expences of his Majeſty's civil government, for the information of Parliament, and for the ſatisfaction of the public. He has given us a number of plauſible reaſons for their not having yet been able to finiſh the account; but, as far as I am able to recollect, he has not yet given us the ſmalleſt reaſon to hope, that it ever will be finiſhed; or that it ever will be laid before Parliament.

'My Lords, I am not unpractiſed in buſineſs, and if, with all that apparent diligence, and all that aſſiſtance, which the noble Duke ſpeaks of, the accounts in queſtion have not yet been made up, I am convinced there muſt be a defect in ſome of the public offices, which ought to be ſtrictly enquired into, and ſeverely puniſhed. But, my Lords, the waſte of the public money is not of itſelf ſo important as the pernicious purpoſe to which we have reaſon to ſuſpect that money has been applied. For ſome years paſt, there has been

CHAP. XXXVI. 1770. been an influx of wealth into this country, which has been attended with many fatal consequences, because it has not been the regular, natural produce of labour and industry. The riches of Asia have been poured in upon us, and have brought with them not only Asiatic luxury, but, I fear, Asiatic principles of government. Without connections, without any natural interest in the soil, the importers of foreign gold have forced their way into Parliament, by such a torrent of private corruption, as no private hereditary fortune could resist. My Lords, not saying but what is within the knowledge of us all, the corruption of the people is the great original cause of the discontents of the people themselves, of the enterprise of the Crown, and the notorious decay of the internal vigour of the Constitution. For this great evil some immediate remedy must be provided; and I confess, my Lords, I did hope, that his Majesty's servants would not have suffered so many years of peace to relapse, without paying some attention to an object, which ought to engage and interest us all. I flattered myself I should see some barriers thrown up in defence of the Constitution, some impediment formed to stop the rapid progress

progrefs of corruption. I doubt not we all agree that fomething muft be done. I fhall offer my thoughts, fuch as they are, to the confideration of the Houfe; and I wifh that every noble Lord who hears me, would be as ready as I am to contribute his opinion to this important fervice. I will not call my own fentiments crude and indigefted; it would be unfit for me to offer any thing to your Lordfhips, which I had not well confidered; and this fubject, I own, has not long occupied my thoughts. I will now give them to your Lordfhips without referve.

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'Whoever underftands the theory of the Englifh Conftitution, and will compare it with the fact, muft fee at once how widely they differ. We muft reconcile them to each other, if we wifh to fave the liberties of this country; we muft reduce our political practice, as nearly as poffible, to our principles. The Conftitution intended that there fhould be a permanent relation between the conftituent and reprefentative body of the people. Will any man affirm, that, as the Houfe of Commons is now formed, that relation is in any degree preferved? My Lords, it is not preferved, it is deftroyed. Let us be cautious however,

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however, how we have recourſe to violent expedients.

'The boroughs of this country have properly enough been called the rotten parts of the Conſtitution. I have lived in Cornwall, and without entering into any invidious particularity, have ſeen enough to juſtify the appellation. But in my judgement, my Lords, theſe boroughs, corrupt as they are, muſt be conſidered as the natural infirmity of the Conſtitution. Like the infirmities of the body, we muſt bear them with patience, and ſubmit to carry them about with us. The limb is mortified, but the amputation might be death.

'Let us try, my Lords, whether ſome gentler remedies may not be diſcovered. Since we cannot cure the diſorder, let us endeavour to infuſe ſuch a portion of new health into the Conſtitution, as may enable it to ſupport its moſt inveterate diſeaſes.

'The repreſentation of the counties is, I think, ſtill preſerved pure and uncorrupted. That of the greateſt cities is upon a footing equally reſpectable; and there are many of the

the larger trading towns, which ſtill preſerve their independence. The infuſion of health which I now allude to, would be to permit every county to elect one member more, in addition to their preſent repreſentation. The knights of the ſhires approach neareſt to the Conſtitutional repreſentation of the country, becauſe they repreſent the ſoil. It is not in the little dependent boroughs, it is the great cities and counties that the ſtrength and vigour of the Conſtitution reſides, and by them alone, if an unhappy queſtion ſhould ever riſe, will the Conſtitution be honeſtly and firmly defended. It would increaſe that ſtrength, becauſe I think it is the only ſecurity we have againſt the profligacy of the times, the corruption of the people, and the ambition of the crown.

'I think I have weighed every poſſible objection that can be raiſed againſt a plan of this nature; and I confeſs I ſee but one, which, to me, carries any appearances of ſolidity. It may be ſaid, perhaps, that when the act paſſed for uniting the two kingdoms, the number of perſons who were to repreſent the whole nation in Parliament was proportioned and fixed on for ever—That this limitation

CHAP. XXXVI. 1770. limitation is a fundamental article, and cannot be altered without hazarding a dissolution of the Union.

'My Lords, no man who hears me can have a greater reverence for that wise and important act, than I have. I revere the memory of that great Prince who first formed the plan, and of those illustrious patriots who carried it into execution. As a contract, every article of it should be inviolable; as the common basis of the strength and happiness of two nations, every article of it should be sacred. I hope I cannot be suspected of conceiving a thought so detestable, as to propose an advantage to one of the contracting parties at the expence of the other. No, my Lords, I mean that the benefit should be universal, and the consent to receive it unanimous. Nothing less than a most urgent and important occasion should persuade me to vary even from the letter of the act; but there is no occasion, however urgent, however important, that should ever induce me to depart from the spirit of it. Let that spirit be religiously preserved. Let us follow the principle upon which the representation of the two countries was proportioned

portioned at the Union; and when we increase the number of representatives for the English counties, let the shires of Scotland be allowed an equal privilege. On these terms, and while the proportion limited by the Union is preserved by the two nations, I apprehend that no man who is a friend to either, will object to an alteration, so necessary for the security of both. I do not speak of the authority of the Legislature to carry such a measure into effect, because I imagine no man will dispute it. But I would not wish the Legislature to interpose by an exertion of its power alone, without the chearful concurrence of all parties. My object is the happiness and security of the two nations, and I would not wish to obtain it without their mutual consent.

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'My Lords, besides my warm approbation of the motion made by the noble Lord, I have a natural and personal pleasure in rising up to second it. I consider my seconding his Lordship's motion, and I would wish it to be considered by others, as a public demonstration of that cordial union, which I am happy to affirm, subsists between us—of my attachment to those principles

Union of Ld. Chatham with Ld. Rockingham.

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principles which he has fo well defended, and of my refpect for his perfon. There has been a time, my Lords, when thofe who wifhed well to neither of us, who wifhed to fee us feparated for ever, found a fufficient gratification for their malignity againft us both. But that time is happily at an end. The friends of this country will, I doubt not, hear with pleafure, that the noble Lord and his friends are now united with me and mine, upon a principle which, I truft, will make our union indiffoluble. It is not to poffefs, or divide, the emoluments of government; but, if poffible, to fave the ftate. Upon this ground we met—upon this ground we ftand, firm and infeparable. No minifterial artifices, no private offers, no fecret feduction, can divide us. United as we are, we can fet the profoundeft policy of the prefent miniftry, their grand, their only arcanum of government, their *divide et impera*, at defiance.

'I hope an early day will be agreed to for confidering the ftate of the nation. My infirmities muft fall heavily upon me indeed, if I do not attend my duty that day. When I confider my age, and unhappy ftate

of

of health, I feel how little I am perſonally intereſted in the event of any political queſtion: But I look forward to others, and am determined, as far as my poor ability extends, to convey to thoſe who come after me, the bleſſings which I cannot long hope to enjoy myſelf.'

The Houſe agreed to fixing the twenty-fourth day of January, for taking into conſideration the ſtate of the nation. But at that time there being no Lord Chancellor, the motion was adjourned to the ſecond of February.—On the twenty-ninth of January, four days previous to the next debate, the Duke of *Grafton* reſigned. The want of a Lord Chancellor determined his Grace to quit his ſituation. Even this reſignation, added to the many others which had preceded it, had no effect upon the Court. The reſolution of the private, or confidential cabinet, was ſtill to *perſevere*—to rely upon the power of the Crown—and if that was not ſufficient, to depend upon the army. The Duke of *Grafton*'s place was given to Lord *North*: he was now Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Miniſter of the Houſe of Commons. The

Great

CHAP. XXXVII. 1770. Great Seal was put into commiſſion, having been refuſed by Lord *Mansfield* and Sir *John Eardly Wilmot*. The latter refuſed on account of his age. The former, becauſe his poſt of Chief Juſtice of the Court of King's Bench afforded a more permanent emolument.

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Lord Chatham's Speech on the deciſion of the Houſe of Commons on the Middleſex Election—His Speech on Secret Influence—On the Civil Liſt, and diſmiſſion of Lord Camden—Fact concerning Queen Anne's Civil Liſt—Mr. Grenville's Election Bill.

ON the ſecond day of February, 1770, the Houſe of Lords being in committee on the ſtate of the nation, Lord *Rockingham* moved, That the Houſe of Commons, in the exerciſe of its judicature in matters of election, is bound to judge according to the law of the land, and the known and eſtabliſhed law and cuſtom of parliament, which is part thereof.

The

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The Earl of *Sandwich* oppoſed the motion; and Lord *Chatham* replied to Lord *Sandwich*.

Speech on the Middleſex Election.

Lord *Chatham* began with obſerving, that the noble Lord had been very adroit in referring to the Journals, and in collecting every circumſtance that might aſſiſt his argument. Though my long and almoſt continued infirmities, ſaid he, have denied me the hour of eaſe to obtain theſe benefits, yet, without the aſſiſtance of the journals, or other collaterals, I can reply to both the precedents which his Lordſhip has produced.

'I will readily allow the facts to be as the noble Earl has ſtated them, viz. That *Lionel*, Earl of *Middleſex*, as well as Lord *Bacon*, were both, for certain crimes and miſdemeanors, expelled this houſe, and incapacitated from ever ſitting here; without occaſioning any interference from the other branches of the Legiſlature.

'Neither of theſe caſes bear any analogy to the preſent caſe. They affected only themſelves. The rights of no conſtituent body

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body were affected by them. It is not the *perſon* of Mr. *Wilkes* that is complained of; as an individual, he is perſonally out of the diſpute. The cauſe of complaint the great cauſe, is, that the inherent rights and franchiſes of the people are, in this caſe, invaded, trampled upon, and annihilated. Lord *Bacon* and Lord *Middleſex* repreſented no county, or city. The rights of no freeholder, the franchiſes of no elector, were deſtroyed by their expulſion. The caſes are as widely different as north from ſouth. But I will allow the noble Earl a ſuccedaneum to his argument, which, probably, he has not as yet thought of. I will ſuppoſe he urges, "That whatever authority gives a ſeat to a Peer, it is, at leaſt equally as reſpectable as to a Commoner, and that, both in expulſion and incapacitation, the injury is directly the ſame:"—Granted; and I will further allow, that if Mr. *Wilkes* had not been *re-elected* by the people, the firſt expulſion, I believe, would be efficient. Therefore, my Lords, this compariſon ceaſes; for, except theſe noble Lords mentioned, had received a freſh title, either by birth or patent, they could not poſſibly have any claim after the firſt expulſion. The noble

Lord

Lord aſks, " How came this doctrine to be broached?" And adds, " Who ſhould be more tenacious of their liberties and privileges than the members themſelves?" In reſpect to the latter part of this queſtion, I agree none ſhould be ſo proper as themſelves to protect their own rights and privileges; and I ſincerely lament that they have, by their recent conduct, ſo far forgot what thoſe privileges are, that they have added to the long liſt of venality from *Eſau* to the preſent day. In regard to the firſt part, " How came this doctrine to be broached?" I muſt tell the noble Lord it is as old as the Conſtitution itſelf; the liberties of the people, in the original diſtribution of government, being the firſt thing provided for; and in the caſe of Mr. *Wilkes*, though we have not inſtances as numerous as in other caſes, yet it is, by no means, the leſs conſtitutional; like a comet in the firmament, which, however it may dazzle and ſurpriſe the vulgar and untutored, by unfrequency of its appearance, the philoſopher, verſed in aſtronomic ſcience, it affects no more than any other common proceſs of nature, being perfectly ſimple, and to him perfectly intelligible. Need I remind you

my

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my Lords, at this period, of that common school-boy position, "that the constitution of this country depends upon King, Lords, and Commons, that each by its power is a balance to the other." If this is not the case, why were the three estates constituted? Why should it be necessary before an act of parliament takes place, that their mutual concurrence should be had. My Lords, I am ashamed to trudge in this common track of argument; and have no apology to make, but that I have been drawn into it by the noble Lord's asserting, "We had no right to interfere with the privileges of the other House."

'The noble Earl has been very exact in his calculation of the proportion of persons who have petitioned; and did the affair rest, merely, on *this* calculation, his argument would be unanswerable; but will he consider what numbers, whose private sentiments felt all the rigour of parliamentary proceedings, but for want of a few principals to call them together, and collect their opinions, have never reached the ear of their sovereign. If we add to this number, the interest made use of on the side of

govern-

government, to ſuppreſs all petitions, with the authority that placemen have neceſſarily over their dependants, it is very ſurpriſing, that out of forty counties, thirteen had ſpirit and independence ſufficient to ſtem ſuch a tide of venality. But I will ſuppoſe that this was not the caſe, that no undue influence was made uſe of, and that hence but one third of the people think themſelves aggrieved. Are numbers to conſtitute right? Are not the laws of the land fixed and unalterable? And is not this proceeding complained of, or any other, (ſupported even but by one), to be tried and adjudged by theſe laws? Therefore, however the noble Lord may excel in the doctrine of calculation as a ſpeculative matter, it can by no means ſerve him, urged in the courſe of argument.

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'Let us not then, my Lords, be deaf to the alarms of the people, when theſe alarms are founded on the infringement of their rights.—Let us not ſit neuter and inattentive to the proceedings of the other Houſe. We are, equally with that Houſe, entruſted with the people's rights, and we cannot conſcientiouſly diſcharge our duties without our

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our interference, whenever we find thoſe rights, in any part of the conſtitution, trampled on.

'I have, my Lords, treſpaſſed on your patience at this late hour of the night, when the length of this debate muſt have fatigued your Lordſhips conſiderably. But I cannot apologize in a caſe ſo deeply intereſting to the nation—no time can be too long—no time can be loſt—no hardſhips can be complained of.

'He condemned the conduct of the Houſe of Commons in terms of aſperity. He denominated the vote of that Houſe, which had made Colonel *Luttrel* repreſentative for Middleſex, a groſs invaſion of the Rights of Election—a dangerous violation of the Engliſh Conſtitution—a treacherous ſurrender of the invaluable privilege of a freehold, and a corrupt ſacrifice of their own honour. They had ſtript the ſtatute book of its brighteſt ornaments, to gild the wings, not of prerogative, but of unprincipled faction and lawleſs domination. To gratify the reſentments of ſome individuals, the laws had been deſpiſed, trampled upon, and

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and deſtroyed—thoſe laws, which had been made by the ſtern virtue of their anceſtors, the iron barons of old, to whom we were indebted for all the bleſſings of our preſent Conſtitution; to whoſe virtue and whoſe blood, to whoſe ſpirit in the hour of conteſt, and to whoſe tenderneſs in the triumph of victory, the ſilken barons of this day, owe their honours and their ſeats, and both Houſes of Parliament owe their continuance. Theſe meaſures, he ſaid, made a part of that unhappy ſyſtem, which had been formed in the preſent reign, with a view to *new-model* the Conſtitution, as well as the Government. Theſe meaſures originated, he would not ſay, with his Majeſty's knowledge, but in his Majeſty's Councils. The Commons had ſlaviſhly obeyed the commands of his Majeſty's ſervants, and had thereby exhibited, and proved to the conviction of every man, what might have been only matter of ſuſpicion before—*that Miniſters held a corrupt influence in Parliament*—it was demonſtrable—it was indiſputable. It was therefore particularly neceſſary for their Lordſhips, at this critical and alarming period, ſo full of jealouſy and apprehenſion, to ſtep forwards,

and

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and oppofe themfelves, on the one hand, to the juftly incenfed, and perhaps fpeedy intemperate rage of the people; and on the other, to the criminal and malignant conduct of his Majefty's Minifters: that they might prevent licentioufnefs on the one fide, and depredation on the other. Their Lordfhips were the conftitutional barrier between the extremes of liberty and prerogative.'

The Houfe being in a Committee, the queftion was put, Whether the Speaker fhould refume the chair? which was decided in the affirmative by a great majority.

The queftion being now got rid of, and notwithftanding it was paft twelve o'clock, the Earl of *Marchmont* made the following motion: "That any refolution of this Houfe, directly or indirectly impeaching a judgment of the Houfe of Commons in a matter where their jurifdiction is competent, final, and conclufive, would be a violation of the conftitutional right of the Commons, tends to make a breach between the two Houfes of Parliament, and leads to a general confufion."

* "It ſhould ſeem that the Scotch kept this motion in their pockets; and that they reſerved themſelves for it; as neither the Earl of *Marchmont*, who made it, nor Lord *Mansfield*, who ſupported it, opened their mouths till now; when they both ſpoke with great vigour. The Earl of *Marchmont* threw out, by way of menace to the Oppoſition, that if they went one ſtep further, they would juſtify the neceſſity of calling in foreign aſſiſtance. The Duke of *Richmond* called him to order, and aſked for an explanation of the words *foreign aſſiſtance*. But he *ſhuffled* it off. Lord *Mansfield*, in a long ſpeech inſiſted, that their Lordſhips had no right to interfere in any determination of the Commons. The Earl of *Egmont* ſaid, the late petitions were highly cenſurable; the people had no right, nor even claim of right, to preſent ſuch petitions—they were *treaſonable*.

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Earl of Egmont.

This harſh denunciation of the petitions, brought up the Earl of *Chatham*. His Lordſhip declared, "that however indignant he might feel upon ſuch a dreadful

Earl of Chatham.

* From the London Muſeum, vol. 1, page 190. It is not known that any other account of this debate was taken.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1770. ſentence upon the petitioners, he hoped they would only ſmile when they heard it. He thanked Lord *Marchmont* for his *lenity*, in permitting the petitioners to have their heads on one day longer: and ſaid the petitions were laudable and conſtitutional; and the right of the people, to preſent them, undoubted. He then replied to Lord *Mansfield*, and ſhewed the neceſſity of the Houſe of Lords interfering, in caſe of an invaſion of the people's liberties, or an unconſtitutional determination of the Houſe of Commons; and he affirmed, that the caſe of the county of Middleſex fell under both thoſe denominations. Then he conjured them, by the noble blood which had run for ſo many ages in their veins, and by the noble ſtruggles of their anceſtors in behalf of liberty, not to behold with indifference a tranſaction ſo alarming; and modeſtly ſaid of himſelf, for his own part, he was hardly warm in his ſeat. He quoted Lord *Somers* and Chief Juſtice *Holt*, in ſupport of his law: and drew their characters very finely. He called them *honeſt men*, who knew and loved the Engliſh Conſtitution. Then turning to Lord *Mansfield*, he ſaid, (with *a ſneer*) I vow to God I think the noble

Lord

Lord equals them both—*in abilities.* Towards the conclusion he complained strongly of the motion's being *sudden*, and made at midnight, and pressed the necessity of an adjournment of only *two days*. He said, among other things, if the Constitution must be wounded, let it not receive its mortal stab at this dark and midnight hour, when honest men are asleep in their beds, and when only felons and assassins are seeking for prey.' CHAP. XXXVII. 1770.

At half past one in the morning the question was put, and decided in the affirmative.

On the second day of March 1770, a motion was made in the House of Lords by Lord *Craven*, for an Address to the King, requesting his Majesty would put his Royal Navy on such a footing as to secure respect to his Crown, and protection to the trade of his subjects.

Earl of Chatham's Speech on Secret Influence. M. S.

The Earl of *Chatham* supported this motion. ' He condemned the conduct of the ministry in every particular, concerning the Navy. Having gone through great part of the

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the ſubject, he took occaſion to ſpeak of the Secret Influence, which had pervaded the counſels of the preſent reign. He deſcribed this influence as having ſubſiſted from the firſt moment of his Majeſty's acceſſion. He called it dangerous, baſe, unconſtitutional and wicked. It had undermined and overturned every adminiſtration, however conſtituted or ſupported. He ſpoke he ſaid, of an inviſible, unreſponſible influence—of the pernicious counſels of a favourite, who had occaſioned all the unhappineſs and diſturbances in the nation, and whoſe agents had extended his pernicious politics and principles to the government and terror of the colonies; from all which he deprecated the worſt of misfortunes. That although this favourite was at the preſent abroad, yet, his influence, by his confidential agents, was as potent as if he were preſent. Who does not know the Mazarinade of France—that Mazarine abſent, was Mazarine ſtill. What is there, he aſked, to diſtinguiſh the two caſes? The tranſaction of the late peace was a great proof, amongſt many others, of his influence——that meaſure was his. Others participated in the guilt, but he was the principal.

Then

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Then raiſing his voice, he aſſerted in a manly and dignified tone, *That this Country* WAS SOLD *at the late peace; that we were* SOLD *by the Court of Turin to the Court of France:* What more perſons were concerned he would not at preſent ſtate; but what he had ſtated was an indiſputable FACT.

'He himſelf had been duped by this ſecret influence at the moment when he leaſt ſuſpected treachery; when the proſpect was fair, and when the appearances of confidence were ſtrong; in particular, at the time when he was taken ill, and obliged to go to Bath for a ſhort week; he had before he ſet out, formed, with great pains, attention and deliberation, ſome plans, which as he conceived, were highly intereſting and of the utmoſt importance to this country; which had been approved in Council, and to which the King himſelf had given his approbation. But when he returned, he found his plans were all vaniſhed into thin air.

'When I was earneſtly called upon for the public ſervice, I came from Somerſetſhire with wings of zeal. I conſented to preſerve apeace which I abominated; a peace I would

not

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not make, but would preſerve when made. I undertook to ſupport a Government by law; but to ſhield no man from public juſtice. Theſe terms were accepted, I thought with ſincerity accepted. I own I was credulous, I was duped, I was deceived; for I ſoon found that there was no ORIGINAL Adminiſtration to be ſuffered in this country. The ſame ſecret inviſible influence ſtill prevailed, which had put an end to all the ſucceſſive adminiſtrations, as ſoon as they oppoſed or declined to act under it.'

Here the Duke of *Grafton* roſe and ſaid, I riſe to defend the King; though, if I underſtand rightly the words which have been ſpoken, they are only the effects of a diſtempered mind, brooding over its own diſcontent.

To which Lord *Chatham* replied, 'I riſe neither to deny, to retract, nor to explain away the words I have ſpoken. As for his Majeſty, I always found every thing gracious and amiable in the Cloſet; ſo amiably condeſcending as a *promiſe*, in every repeated audience, not only to forgive, but to ſupply the defects of health by his chearful ſupport,

port, and by the ready aſſiſtance of all his immediate dependants, &c. Inſtead of this, all the obſtacles and difficulties which attended every great and public meaſure, did not ariſe from thoſe out of Government: they were ſuggeſted, nouriſhed and ſupported by that ſecret influence I have mentioned, and by the induſtry of thoſe very dependants: firſt by ſecret treachery; then by official influence; afterwards in public Councils. A long train of theſe practices has at length unwillingly convinced me, that there is ſomething behind the Throne greater than the King himſelf. As to the noble Duke, there was in his conduct, from the time of my being taken ill, a gradual deviation from every thing that had been ſettled and ſolemnly agreed to by his Grace, both as to meaſures and men; till at laſt there were not left two planks together of the ſhip which had been originally launched. As to a diſtempered mind, I have a drawer full of proofs that my principles have never given way to any diſeaſe; and that I have always had ſufficient vigour of mind remaining to ſupport them, and conſequently to avoid all thoſe ſnares, which from time to time have been ſo artfully laid to take advantage of my ſtate of

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of health; his Grace can witneſs better than any other man, becauſe he has himſelf the letters which ſufficiently prove it.*'

The motion was negatived.

On the ſixteenth day of March, a motion was made, to appoint a Committee to enquire into the ſtate and expenditure of the Civil Liſt.

Speech on the Civil Liſt, and diſmiſſion of Lord Camden.

Lord *Chatham* ſpoke in ſupport of the motion. 'He ſaid the Civil Liſt was appropriated, in the firſt inſtance, to the ſupport of the Civil Government; and in the next to the honour and dignity of the Crown. In every other reſpect, the minute and particular expences of the Civil Liſt are as open to Parliamentary examination and enquiry, in regard to the application and abuſe as any other grant of the people, to any other purpoſe: and the Miniſters are equally or more culpable for incurring an unprovided expence, and arrears in this ſervice, as for any other. The preamble of the Civil

* The latter part of this ſpeech is copied from the London Muſeum, vol. 1. page 248.

Liſt

Lift acts prove this: and none but novices, will ever act without proper regard to them: and therefore, I can never consent to encrease fraudulently the Civil Establishment, under pretence of making up deficiencies; nor will I bid so high for Royal favor: and the Minister who is bold enough to spend the people's money, before it is granted (even though it were not for the purpose of corrupting their representatives), and thereby leaving the people of England no other alternative, but either to disgrace their Sovereign, by not paying his debts, or to become the prey of every unthrifty or corrupt Minister—such Minister deserves death. CHAP. XXXVII 1770.

'The late good old King had something of humanity, and amongst other royal and manly virtues, he possessed justice, truth, and sincerity, in an eminent degree; so that he had something about him, by which it was possible to know whether he liked you or disliked you.*

* It is proper to observe, that when Lord *Chatham* was forced out of office in October 1761, the King's Civil List not only stood clear of all incumbrances, but there was a balance at that time in the exchequer due to the crown, of upwards of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds. *See Secret Service in* Chap. XXII.

'I have

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'I have been told that I have a penſion, and that I have recommended others to penſions. It is true; and here is a liſt of them: you will find there the names of General *Amherſt*, Sir *Edward Hawke*, and ſeveral others of the ſame nature; they were given as rewards for real ſervices, and as encouragements to other gallant heroes. They were honourably earned in a different ſort of campaigns than thoſe at Weſtminſter; they were gained by actions, full of danger to themſelves, of glory and benefit to this nation; not by corrupt votes of baſeneſs to the deſtruction of their country.

'You will find no ſecret ſervices there; and you will find, that when the warrior was recompenſed, the Member of Parliament was left free. You will likewiſe find a penſion of 1500l. a year to Lord *Camden*. I recommended his Lordſhip to be Chancellor; his public and private virtues were acknowledged by all; they made his ſtation more precarious. I could not reaſonably expect fiom him, that he would quit the Chief Juſticeſhip of the Common Pleas, which he held for life, and put himſelf in the power of thoſe who were not to be truſted,

to

to be dismissed from the Chancery, perhaps the day after his appointment. The public has not been deceived by his conduct. My suspicions have been justified. His integrity has made him once more a poor and a private man; he was dismissed for the opinion he gave in favour of the right of election in the people." CHAP. XXXVII. 1770.

Here Lord MARCHMONT, who lately talked of foreign force, called Lord CHATHAM to order. Some Lords called out "to the bar, to the bar!" Lord MARCHMONT moved, that Lord CHATHAM's words should be taken down.

Lord CHATHAM seconded the motion and added, 'I neither deny, retract, nor explain these words. I do re-affirm the fact, and I desire to meet the sense of the House; I appeal to the honour of every Lord in this House, whether he has not the same conviction."

Lord ROCKINGHAM, Lord TEMPLE, and many other Lords, did upon their honour affirm the same.

MAHARAJA BERHAMPORE ...

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Lord SANDWICH and Lord WEYMOUTH would have withdrawn the motion; but Lord MARCHMONT, encouraged by Lord MANSFIELD, persisted, and moved, that nothing had appeared to justify such an assertion.

Lord CHATHAM, 'My words remain unretracted, unexplained, and re-affirmed. I desire to know whether I am condemned, or acquitted; and whether I may still presume to hold up my head as high as the noble Lord, who moved to have my words taken down.'

To this no answer was given.

Lord CHATHAM was reproached with having recommended the Duke of GRAFTON; and that he had forced his Grace on the King as his first Minister.

Lord CHATHAM replied, 'I advised his Majesty to take the Duke of GRAFTON as first Lord of the Treasury, but there is such a thing as time as well as tide; and the conduct of the noble Duke has convinced me, that I am as likely to be deceived as any other

other man, and as fallible as my betters. It was an expression of that great Minister Sir R. WALPOLE, upon a debate on the army in the year 1737, "those who gave the power of blood, gave blood." I will beg leave to parodize the expression, and say, those who gave the means of corruption, gave corruption. *I will trust no Sovereign in the world with the means of purchasing the liberties of the people.* When I had the honour of being the confidential keeper of the King's intention, he assured me, that he *never intended to exceed the allowance* which was made by parliament; and therefore, my Lords, at a time when there are no marks of personal dissipation in the King, at a time when there are no marks of any considerable sums having been expended to procure the secrets of our enemies; that a request of an enquiry into the expenditure of the Civil List should be refused, is to me most extraordinary. Does the King of England want to build a palace equal to his rank and dignity? Does he want to encourage the polite and useful arts? Does he mean to reward the hardy veteran, who has defended his quarrel in many a rough campaign, whose salary does not equal

CHAP. XXXVII 1770. that of ſome of your ſervants? Or does he mean, by drawing the purſe-ſtrings of his ſubjects, to ſpread corruption through the people, to procure a Parliament, like a packed jury, ready to acquit his Miniſters at all adventures. I do not ſay, my Lords, that corruption lies *here*, or that corruption lies *there*; but if any gentleman in England were to aſk me, whether I thought both Houſes of Parliament were bribed, *I ſhould laugh in his face*, and ſay, " Sir, it is not " ſo." My Lords, from all that has been ſaid, I think it muſt appear, that an enquiry into the ſtate and expenditure of the Civil Liſt revenue is expedient, proper and juſt; a refuſal of it at this time will only add ridicule to diſgrace, and folly to enormity.'

The motion was negatived.

Queen Anne's Civil Liſt. On this ſubject of the Civil Liſt, it cannot be improper to ſhew the falſity of a compliment paid by *Boyer*, *Tindal*, *Smollet*, *Goldſmith*, and other writers, and even by ſome Members of former Parliaments, in their ſpeeches, when it has ſuited their purpoſe, to the late Queen ANNE. They ſay, that

that for four years, ſhe gave one hundred thouſand pounds per annum, out of her Civil Liſt, towards carrying on the war againſt France; and from hence they deduce an argument in proof of the œconomy and patriotiſm of that Princeſs. If the aſſertion had been true, the argument might have paſſed without notice. But when a compliment of this ſort is paid, not only without foundation, but at the expence of truth, and of the nation, it is preſumed that it will not be thought improper to ſtate the Fact, for the information of thoſe, who have not the Journals of Parliament, and other documents in their poſſeſſion.

In fact, this pretended generoſity was one of the moſt ſcandalous actions that the Crown ever committed by any Adminiſtration. It was a manifeſt and groſs cheat upon the Public, who were extravagant loſers by it; for ſome time after, viz. upon the 25th of June, 1713, the Queen acquainted the Houſe of Commons, by meſſage, that ſhe had contracted a very large debt upon her Civil Liſt revenues, which ſhe was unable to pay, and therefore deſired to make them good; and ſuch was

CHAP. XXXVII. 1770. the complaiſance of a Tory Parliament, that notwithſtanding the deteſtation which muſt have ariſen in every honeſt breaſt, upon the detection of this clumſey juggle, and though Mr. SMITH, one of the Tellers of the Exchequer*, honeſtly informed the Houſe, that the eſtimate of this debt was aſtoniſhing to him, being made to amount to Auguſt 1710, to 400,000l. Whereas, he was able to affirm from his own knowledge, that it amounted at that time to little more than 100,000l. and though many others undertook to prove, that the funds given for 700,000l. had, in reality, amounted to 800,000l. and though theſe gentlemen had prevailed ſo far as to procure an addreſs to the Crown for an account of the Civil Liſt debt at Midſummer, 1713, and for a yearly account of the net produce of the Civil Liſt revenue, no regard was paid to this information, nor to this addreſs; none of theſe accounts were ever permitted to be laid before the Houſe, and upon the very next day they voted no leſs a ſum than 500,000l. for this ſervice.—This is the truth,

* The Tellers of the Exchequer were at that time Members of Parliament. They were excluded by Lord Bath's Act, 1743.

and

and the whole truth, of that generous exploit of the daughter of King JAMES II. It was a mean trick, by which the nation was cheated of 400,000l.—This Queen had as many private vices, and as few public virtues, as any Prince or Princefs of her family. CHAP XXXVII. 1770.

On the fifth day of April, Mr. GRENVILLE's Bill for trying Controverted Elections, was brought from the Houfe of Commons by Mr. GRENVILLE, attended by one hundred Members.

Mr. Grenville's Election Bill.

Lord CHATHAM fupported the Bill, and paffed fome very elegant encomiums upon it. He then faid, That as he had begun his life out of a Court, he hoped he fhould end it out of a Court. He had no view of intereft. All he meant was to roufe his country to a juft fenfe of the bleffings of this Conftitution. Then he defired that the Houfe might be fummoned after the Holidays, for he defigned to bring in a Bill to reverfe the proceedings of the Houfe of Commons on the Middlefex Election. He declared that his intention by this Bill, was to give the people a ftrong and tho-

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1770. rough ſenſe of the great violation of the Conſtitution, by thoſe unjuſt and arbitrary proceedings.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Lord Chatham's Bill on the Middleſex Election, and Speech in ſupport of the Bill—Lord Chatham's Motion, and Speech, on the King's Anſwer to a Petition from the City of London—His Motion for a Diſſolution of Parliament—Some Heads of a Speech on Repreſentation—His Letter to Lord Temple on that Subject—Anecdote on the ſame Subject from Lord Buchan—Goes into Somerſetſhire.

ON the firſt day of May, 1770, the Earl of CHATHAM preſented to the Houſe a Bill, intituled,

A Bill for reverſing the adjudications of the Houſe of Commons, whereby JOHN WILKES, Eſq; has been adjudged incapable of being elected a Member to ſerve in this preſent Parliament, and the freeholders of the county of Middleſex have been deprived of one of their legal repreſentatives.

The ſaid Bill was read the firſt time.

The

The following is an accurate copy of the Bill. CHAP. XXXVIII 1770.

A Bill for reverſing the adjudications of the Houſe of Commons, whereby John Wilkes, Eſq; has been adjudged incapable of being elected a Member to ſerve in this preſent Parliament, and the Freeholders of the County of Middleſex have been deprived of one of their legal Repreſentatives.

WHEREAS the capacity of being elected a Repreſentative of the Commons in Parliament (is under known limitations of law) an original inherent right of the ſubject; and foraſmuch as to deprive the ſubject of this high franchiſe and birth-right, otherwiſe than by a judgment according to the law of the land, and the conſtant eſtabliſhed uſage of Parliament conformable thereto, and part thereof, is directly contrary to the fundamental laws and freedom of this realm, and in particular to the act, "declaring the rights and liberties of the "ſubject, and ſettling the ſucceſſion of the "crown," at the ever-memorable period of the

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the Revolution; when free election of Members of Parliament was exprefsly vindicated and fecured.

And whereas JOHN WILKES, Efq; having been duly elected and returned a knight of the fhire to ferve in this prefent Parliament for the county of Middlefex, was, on the 17th of February, 1769, without being heard, adjudged incapable of being elected a Member to ferve in this prefent Parliament, by a refolution of the Houfe of Commons, as follows:

"Refolved,

"That JOHN WILKES, Efq; having been in this feffion of Parliament expelled this Houfe, was and is incapable of being elected a Member to ferve in this prefent Parliament."

And whereas on the fame day the faid Houfe of Commons farther refolved as follows: "That the late election of a knight of the fhire to ferve in this prefent Parliament for the county of Middlefex is a void election;"

And

And whereas the ſaid JOHN WILKES, Eſq; having been again duly elected and returned a knight of the ſhire to ſerve in this preſent Parliament for the county of Middleſex, the ſaid Houſe of Commons did, on the 17th of March, 1769, reſolve in the words following " That the election and return of JOHN WILKES, Eſq; who hath been by this Houſe adjudged incapable of being elected a Member to ſerve in this preſent Parliament, are null and void ; CHAP. XXXVIII 1770.

And whereas the ſaid JOHN WILKES, Eſq; having been again duly elected and returned a knight of the ſhire to ſerve in the preſent Parliament for the county of Middleſex aforeſaid, and having on the original poll-books, eleven hundred and forty-three votes in his favour, againſt two hundred and ninety-ſix, in favour of HENRY LAWES LUTTRELL, Eſq; the Houſe of Commons did, on the 15th of April, 1769, without a hearing of parties, and in manifeſt violation of the indubitable right of the Freeholders of the county of Middleſex to chuſe their repreſentatives in Parliament, reſolve as follows;

That

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That HENRY LAWES LUTTRELL, Esq; ought to have been returned a knight of the shire to serve in this present Parliament for the county of Middlesex, and thereupon ordered the said return to be amended accordingly:

And whereas, by another resolution, of the 8th of May, 1762, the said House of Commons did, upon hearing the matter of the petition of the Freeholders of the county of Middlesex, as far as the same related to the election of HENRY LAWES LUTTRELL, farther resolve as follows;

"That HENRY LAWES LUTTRELL, Esq; is duly elected a knight of the shire to serve in this present Parliament for the county of Middlesex."

And forasmuch as all the resolutions aforesaid, cutting off the subject from his indubitable birth-right, by a vote of one House of Parliament exercising discretionary power and legislative authority, under colour of a jurisdiction in elections, are most arbitrary, illegal, and dangerous.

Be

Be it therefore declared and enacted, by the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, "That all the "adjudications contained in the above-"mentioned ſeveral reſolutions are arbitra-"ry and illegal, and the ſame are and "ſhall be hereby reverſed, annulled, and "made void to all intents and purpoſes "whatſoever."

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After the firſt reading of the ſaid Bill, it was moved,

That the ſaid Bill be read a ſecond time, on Thurſday next; which being warmly objected to by Lord DENBIGH, Lord CHATHAM replied, 'the noble Lord has been loud and violent againſt this motion. He ſeems to be very angry with the friends of this meaſure, but then he is angry *in ſuch a ſort*, that I am ſure nobody can be angry with him; I ſhall, therefore, wave replying to ſome reflections he has thrown out upon the faction, as he is pleaſed to call it, and take

Lord Chatham.

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take a ſhort view of the cauſe of this motion. Here are 1143 legal, ſworn, Freeholders, vote a gentleman their Member of Parliament, againſt 296 who oppoſe him: with this apparent majority, he comes to take his ſeat ſo given him by the laws and conſtitution of his country. But what do the Houſe of Commons? Why, they ſhut the door in his face, and by a new ſtate-arithmetic, make 296 a greater number than 1143. Is not this, my Lords, flying in the face of all law and freedom? Is not this apparently robbing the Freeholders of their liberty, and making a mere farce of Engliſhmen's birth-rights? It is very true, the Houſe of Commons had a right, if petitioned by Colonel LUTTRELL, to enquire minutely into the qualifications of his opponent's electors; to admit none as ſuch, but thoſe duly qualified by law; and after making theſe deductions, then determine the majority. But this has not been even attempted. The ſeat of the legal repreſentative has been wreſted from him, and a violent outrage has been committed, that ſtrikes at every thing that is dear and ſacred to the liberties of Engliſhmen.

'It

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'It has been urged, my Lords, that there is no precedent for one Houſe taking cognizance of the proceedings of the other. If my memory ſerves me right, I remember one nearly parallel, in the caſe of Titus Oates, where the Commons took cognizance of the proceedings of the Lords on that ſubject; ſo that it is no new thing for one Houſe to be a check on the other, as it is not only eſtabliſhed by precedent, but by the principles of our conſtitution.

'It is ſaid, my Lords, that the ſpirit of diſcontent has gone abroad—I ſhould be ſurpriſed if it had not; for how can it be otherwiſe, when to uſe a familiar expreſſion, Colonel LUTTRELL ſits in the *lap* of JOHN WILKES; when a corrupt Houſe of Commons invert all law and order, and deny the juſt privilege the electors claim by the conſtitution of theſe kingdoms? Though I will not aid the voice of faction, I will aid the juſt complaints of the people; and while I have ſtrength to crawl, I will exert my poor abilities in their ſervice; and I here pledge myſelf to their cauſe, becauſe I know it is the cauſe of truth and juſtice.

'I am

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'I am afraid, my Lords, this meaſure has ſprung too near the throne—I am ſorry for it: but I hope his Majeſty will ſoon open his eyes, and ſee it in all its deformity; (Here Lord Pomfret interrupted him, by calling him to order) upon which Lord Chatham ſaid, I do not retract my words —I eſteem the King in his perſonal capacity, I revere him in his political one; and on theſe principles I hope he will ſee it, and ſee it in ſuch a light, that he will redreſs it, by the diſſolution of a Houſe that could adopt ſuch a meaſure.'

The motion to read the Bill a ſecond time was negatived.

Lord STAFFORD (then Lord GOWER) moved to reject the bill; upon which the Lords divided 89 for the motion, 43 againſt it.

Before the Houſe adjourned, Lord CHATHAM deſired their Lordſhips might be ſummoned for the fourth of May; for, ſaid he, I have a motion of great importance relative to the King.

On

On the fourth day of May Lord CHATHAM moved the following resolution: CHAP. XXXVIII. 1770.

Ld. Chatham's Motion and Speech on the King's anſwer to the City of London.

" That it is the opinion of this Houſe, that the advice, inducing his Majeſty to give the anſwer to a late Humble Addreſs, Remonſtrance, and Petition, of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the city of London, in Common-Hall aſſembled, is of a moſt dangerous tendency; inaſmuch as thereby, the exerciſe of the cleareſt rights of the ſubject; namely, to petition the King for Redreſs of Grievances; to complain of Violation of the freedom of Election; to pray Diſſolution of Parliament; to point our Mal Practices in Adminiſtration; and to urge the removal of Evil Miniſters, has, under pretence of removing certain parts of the ſaid Remonſtrance and Petition, by the generalty of *one* compendious *word*, CONTENTS, been indiſcriminately checked with reprimand; and the afflicted Citizens of London have heard from the throne itſelf, that the *contents* of their Humble Addreſs, Remonſtrance, and Petition, laying their *complaints* and *injuries* at the feet of the Sovereign, as *Father* of his people, *able* and *willing* to *redreſs* them, cannot but

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but be conſidered by his Majeſty, as diſreſpectful to himſelf, injurious to Parliament, and irreconcileable to the Principles of the Conſtitution."

This motion being regularly read from the Woolſack, Lord CHATHAM proceeded, ' I am to conſider, in conſequence of this motion, what it was the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the city of London requeſted, in order to diſcover the cauſes they gave, by their requiſition, for ſuch an anſwer—an anſwer ſo harſh, that it exceeds every thing in the hiſtory of this country. They requeſted, my Lords, very humbly, a Reſtoration of the Freedom of Election, a Diſmiſſion of unjuſt Servants, and a Diſſolution of a Parliament that protected thoſe ſervants; becauſe they (the Citizens of London) were not, legally, repreſented in ſuch a Parliament. Now, my Lords, I do aver the truth of this petition; and I do likewiſe aver, that the Citizens of London, with the reſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects, have a right to petition, not only by Magna Charta, and the Bill of Rights, but by a variety of Acts of Parliament numerous as they are expreſſive. No particular part of the petition is applied

applied to, but the whole of the *contents* are at once difpofed of. " That this Petition was difrefpectful to himfelf, (the King) injurious to his Parliament, and irreconcileable to the principles of the Conftitution." 'I am too well acquainted, my Lords, with his Majefty, to think him capable of giving fuch an anfwer—nor could he do it, with propriety, either in his regal or perfonal capacity. I muft beg your patience, my Lords, to confider this a little more attentively: 'Firft, *Difrefpectful to himfelf.*' How is a King to know this? Is he a judge what is difrefpectful to him? No, my Lords; the laws are to determine this for him, the juft interpreters of offences. '*Injurious to my Parliament!*' How injurious to Parliament? when the very nature or part of the Petition, refers to that Freedom of Election in the People, by which *they* became a Houfe of Judicature; '*Irreconcileable to the Principles of the Conftitution,*' when the very effence of the Conftitution, not only *permits* but *requires* petitioning the Throne, and what the *Stuarts* never dared to prevent in the zenith of their power. I repeat again, my Lords, the King could never give fuch an anfwer from himfelf; and, indeed, my

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Lords, poor as my opinion is of administration, I can hardly think it was a *joint official* advice, but the opinion of *one*, or a *confidential few*; for it is impoffible, but if there were many, who were confulted upon this meafure, fome of them muft fee the abfurdity of it.

'When I mentioned the Livery of London, I thought I faw a fneer upon fome faces: but let me tell you, my Lords, though I have the honour to fit in this Houfe, as a Peer of the Realm, coinciding with thefe honeft Citizens in opinion, I am proud of the honour of affociating my name with theirs. And let me tell the nobleft of you all, it would be an honour to you. The Livery of London, my Lords, were refpectable long before the reformation: the Lord Mayor of London was a *Principal* among the twenty-five Barons who received Magna Charta from King John, and they have ever fince been confidered to have a principal weight in all the affairs of government. How then have thefe refpectable characters been treated? They have been fent away *fore afflicted* from his Majefty's prefence,

presence, and reprimanded for pursuing their undoubted rights.'

The motion was negatived.

Motion to dissolve the Parliament.

On the fourteenth of May, Lord *Chatham* made a motion for an address to the King, to desire he would dissolve the present Parliament. ' He stated the public discontents in England, Ireland, and America: affirmed that the people had no confidence in the present House of Commons, who had betrayed their trust; and shewed, from the situation of public affairs, the great necessity of having a Parliament in whom the people could place a proper confidence! Instead of depriving a county of its representative, he said that one or more members ought to be added to the representation of the counties; in order to operate as a balance, against the weight of the several corrupt and venal boroughs, which perhaps could not be lopped off entirely, without the hazard of a public convulsion.' This was no crude suggestion: he repeated it afterwards in a letter to Lord TEMPLE: and as his opinion on this subject has been doubted, it will not be improper to state, in a note, the public use that was made

On Representation.

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made of this letter *. All arguments were in vain. The Court Lords called for *the Question!*

* KENNET MAYOR. A Common Council holden in the Chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London, on Friday the seventh day of April, 1780: A Member presented to this Court an extract of a letter from the late Earl of Chatham to the late Earl TEMPLE, dated April 17, 1771, which was read, and ordered to be entered in the Journals of this Court, as follows:

"Allow a speculator, in a great chair, to add, that a plan for more *equal Representation*, by additional *Knights of the Shire*, seems highly seasonable; and to shorten the *duration* of Parliament not less so. If your Lordship should approve, could Lord LYTTLETON'S caution be brought to taste those ideas, we should take possession of strong ground, let who will decline to follow us. One line of men, I am assured, will zealously support, and a respectable weight of law. *Si quid novisti rectius istis candidus imperti.*" Signed by order of the Court. RIX.

There is another anecdote of Lord CHATHAM upon this subject which deserves a place here. It is given by the Earl of BUCHAN, in his character of Thomson, the poet.

"The highest encomium of Thomson is to be given him on account of his attachment to the cause of civil and political liberty. A free Constitution of Government, or what I would beg leave to call the *autocracy* of the people is the panacea of moral diseases; and after having been sought for in vain for ages, has been discovered in the bosom of truth, and at the feet of philosophy?' the printing-press has been the dispensary, and half the world have been voluntary patients of the healing remedy.

Anecdote of Lord Chatham by Lord Buchan.

"Eighteen years after Thomson's death, the late Lord CHATHAM agreed with me in making this remark; and when I said, 'But, Sir, what will become of poor England, that doats on the imperfections of her pretended Constitution?' he replied, 'My dear Lord, the gout will dispose of me soon enough to prevent me from feeling the consequences of this infatuation. But before the

Queſtion! the Queſtion! and put a negative upon it. CHAP. XXXVIII 1770.

The ſeſſion ended on the 19th of May.

Lord CHATHAM retired into Somerſetſhire during the ſummer *.

the end of this century either the Parliament will reform itſelf from within, or be reformed with a vengeance from without.'—" Pythonick ſpeech, ſpeedily to be verified."

* In the month of June the Princeſs of Wales went to Germany, and returned in October following. At Canterbury, and other places, ſhe met with many inſults from the people.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Thanks of the City of London to Lord Chatham, and his Lordſhip's Anſwer—His Speech on the Seizure of Falkland's Iſlands—Secret and intereſting Hiſtory of that memorable Negotiation—Reſignation of Lord Hawke—Explanatory Note—Double Cabinet.

LORD CHATHAM's Parliamentary conduct during the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, was highly approved by the nation. The teſtimony of the approbation of the City of London, at this time deſerves to be particularly noticed. It was as follows. CHAP. XXXIX.

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On the firſt day of June, a Committee of the Corporation of the City of London waited on his Lordſhip in Pall-Mall, when Sir *William Stephenſon*, in the name of the Committee, addreſſed his Lordſhip to this effect:

My Lord,

Thanks of the City of London to Ld. Chatham.

"We have the pleaſing ſatisfaction to deliver to your Lordſhip the grateful thanks of the citizens of London, for your Lordſhip's moſt eminent public ſervices; and we ſincerely congratulate your Lordſhip on being equally diſtinguiſhed in the direction of a glorious war, and in your endeavours to reſtore the principles of our moſt excellent Conſtitution."

And then he preſented the thanks of the Corporation which are as follow:

BECKFORD, Mayor.

A Common Council, holden in the Chamber of the Guildhall of the City of London, on Monday, the 14th of May, 1770.

A motion was made, and queſtion put, 'That the grateful thanks of this Court be preſented to the Right Hon. *William* Earl of

of *Chatham*, for the zeal he has ſhewn in ſupport of thoſe moſt valuable and ſacred privileges, the right of election, and the right of petition; and for his wiſhes and declaration, that his endeavours ſhall hereafter be uſed, that Parliaments may be reſtored to their original purity, by ſhortening their duration, and introducing a more full and equal repreſentation; an act which will render his name more honoured by poſterity, than the memorable ſucceſſes of the glorious war he conducted.' The ſame was reſolved in the affirmative, and ordered accordingly.

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It is ordered, That the ſaid reſolution be fairly tranſcribed, and ſigned by the Town Clerk, and preſented to his Lordſhip by Sir Wm. Stephenſon, Knt. Barlow Trecothick, Braſs Croſby, Eſqrs. Aldermen, and James Townſend, Eſq. Alderman, and one of the Sheriffs of this City; George Bellas, Eſq. Mr. Deputy Thomas Cockſedge, Mr. Deputy William Judd, Samuel Freeman, Eſq. Mr. Arthur Beardmore, Mr. James Sharp, Mr. Deputy Richard Townſend, and Mr. John Anderſon, Commoners.

HODGES.

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To which his Lordſhip was pleaſed immediately to reply:

"Gentlemen,

His Lordſhip's Anſwer.

"It is not eaſy for me to give expreſſion to all I feel, on the extraordinary honour done to my public conduct by the City of London; a body ſo highly reſpectable on every account; but above all, for their conſtant aſſertions of the birth-rights of Engliſhmen, in every great criſis of the Conſtitution.

"In our preſent unhappy ſituation, my duty ſhall be on all proper occaſions, to add the zealous endeavours of an individual to thoſe legal exertions of Conſtitutional rights which, to their everlaſting honour, the City of London has made in defence of freedom of election, and freedom of petition, and for obtaining effectual reparation to the electors of Great Britain.

"As to one point among the declarations which I am underſtood to have made, of my wiſhes for the public, permit me to ſay there has been ſome miſapprehenſion; for with

with all my deference to the ſentiments of the City, I am bound to declare, that I cannot recommend triennial Parliaments as a remedy againſt that canker in the Conſtitution, venality in elections; ready to ſubmit my opinion to better judgment, if the wiſh for that meaſure ſhall become prevalent in the kingdom.

"Purity of Parliament is the corner-ſtone in the common-wealth; and as one obvious means towards this neceſſary end is to ſtrengthen and extend the natural relation between the conſtituents and the elected, I have, in this view, publicly expreſſed my earneſt wiſhes for a more full and equal repreſentation, by the addition of one knight of the ſhire in a county, as a farther balance to the mercenary boroughs. I have thrown out this idea with the juſt diffidence of a private man, when he preſumes to ſuggeſt any thing new on a high matter. Animated by your approbation, I ſhall with better hope continue humbly to ſubmit it to the public wiſdom, as an object to be moſt deliberately weighed, accurately examined, and maturely digeſted.

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"Having

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"Having many times, when in the service of the Crown, and when retired from it, experienced, with gratitude, the favour of my fellow-citizens, I am now particularly fortunate that, with their good liking, I can offer any thing towards upholding this wisely-combined frame of mixed Government against the decays of time, and the deviations incident to all human institutions; and I shall esteem my life honoured indeed, if the City of London can vouchsafe to think that my endeavours have not been wanting to maintain the national honour, to defend the colonies, and extend the commercial greatness of my country, as well as to preserve from violation the law of the land, and the essential rights of the Constitution."

On the thirteenth day of November 1770, Parliament met.

Motion of Falkland's Islands.

About two months previous to the meeting of Parliament, an account arrived, of the Spaniards having seized upon Falkland's Islands. This act of hostility gave rise to a motion made by the Duke of *Richmond*, on the twenty second day of November, To present

present an addrefs to his Majefty, requefting his Majefty would be gracioufly pleafed to give orders, that there be laid before the Houfe copies or extracts of all letters and papers received by the Miniftry between the 12th of September, 1769, and the 12th of September 1770, containing any intelligence of hoftilities commenced or intended to be commenced by the Court of Spain, or any of their officers, againft any of his Majefty's dominions; and the times at which fuch intelligence was received. CHAP. XXXIX. 1770.

The motion was oppofed by Lord *Weymouth*, upon the general ground of the impropriety of calling for fuch papers while the matter in queftion was the fubject of a negotiation with the Spanifh Ambaffador. His Lordfhip carefully avoided giving the leaft light, or intimation whatfoever concerning the actual ftate, or progrefs of that negotiation, and expreffed himfelf with caution and referve. He concluded with moving, That the previous queftion might be put. Ld. Weymouth.

The Duke of *Richmond* fupported his motion by a train of facts, for the truth of which Duke of Richmond

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which he repeatedly appealed to the Miniſtry themſelves, and by a ſtrength, and clearneſs of argument, which none of the other party even attempted to weaken or oppoſe. The main ſtreſs of his diſcourſe ſeemed to reſt upon the following facts; that on the third of laſt June, the Tamur ſloop arrived at Plymouth, and brought an account, that a Spaniſh ſquadron had appeared off Falkland iſland, and ordered our people to depart; that this was a clear commencement of hoſtilities;—that from the third of June, to the 12th of September, (above three months) when our garriſon arrived on board the Favourite, it did not appear, that the Miniſtry had taken any ſtep whatſoever for obtaining redreſs, or to put the nation in a ſtate of defence;—that the firſt orders for equipping a fleet, were given on or after the 12th of September;—that this armament, ſuch as it was, had not yet produced one viſible effect;—that ſince the 12th of September, near three months had elapſed, and ſtill they were told, "*that the affair was in negotiation, the negotiation was ſtill depending*;—in that time three meſſengers had arrived from Madrid, and particularly one laſt Monday; and although three days had ſince

ſince paſſed, no communication had yet been made to Parliament of the intelligence he brought, or what was the final anſwer of the Court of Spain. That the terms of the motion plainly obviated the objection made by Lord *Weymouth*, of its tending to impede a negotiation now depending; ſince it did not call for any papers of a date ſubſequent to the notice received by the Miniſtry of the hoſtility being actually committed: conſequently could not reach to any letters written, or received, or to any negotiation entered into, after the receipt of that notice; that he meant only to obtain for the Houſe, ſome accurate information of circumſtances, leading to, and accounting for a fact, which was itſelf notorious and undiſputed. His Grace went largely into the conſideration of the diſgrace and infamy of ſuffering the honour of the Crown, and the rights of the people of England to be ſo long the ſubject of negotiation;—the folly or treachery of the King's ſervants in not accepting of the augmentation of ſeamen propoſed and urged by the Lords in Oppoſition, early in the laſt ſeſſion, when a propoſal for ſtrengthening the hands of Government had been rejected merely becauſe

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CHAP. XXXIX. 1770. it came from that quarter;—their ſupineneſs or treachery, in not arming early in June, when they heard of our people being warned to quit the iſland, by a military forcethreatenining compulſion;—and laſtly, the feebleneſs and ſlow progreſs of the armament they had made, and the diſgraceful ſituation of the King, who ſtood with a public affront, and diſhonour fixed upon his Crown, and without any attempt made, in the courſe of almoſt ſix months, to wipe it away. His Grace obſerved. that the hoſtile intentions of Spain were not only declared by the open hoſtility itſelf, but confirmed by two extraordinary facts, which he ſtated to the Houſe, and which, after repeated appeals, ſtood uncontradicted by the miniſtry. He ſaid, that after the Spaniards had taken poſſeſſion of Port Egmont, they did not ſuffer the Garriſon to depart immediately, but took away the rudder of his Majeſty's ſhip, and detained her by force for the ſpace of twenty days;—that ſuppoſing they had a claim to the iſland, they had none to the King's ſhip; and detaining her was an expreſs violation of treaty, by which, even in the caſe of an open rupture, ſix months are allowed to the ſubjects of each

each nation to remove their perſons and property from the dominions of the other —The other fact ſeemed, and was urged as ſtill more important. He aſſerted, that he had intelligence not to be doubted, that at this moment, there are in the ſeveral Spaniſh priſons not leſs than three thouſand Britiſh ſeamen, (particularly at Ceuta on the coaſt of Africa) who had been taken out of our merchant ſhips by Spaniſh Guarda Coſtas, and condemned to perpetual ſlavery, or confinement. He then quoted a ſtrong inſtance ſince the peace, and read the original letters relating to it, where five of our ſeamen had been demanded by one of our Admirals, and had been refuſed by a Spaniſh Admiral and Governor, who expreſſed a willingneſs to oblige him, but alledged that it would be a breach of their orders and inſtructions.

Theſe were the principal materials of his Grace's ſpeech. The ſeveral parts were filled up with judicious and pointed obſervations, expreſſed in a clear, nervous language, and delivered with plainneſs and dignity.

Lord

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Ld. Hillsborough.

Lord *Hillsborough* took up the argument upon the same footing with Lord *Weymouth*, but carried it much farther than his Lordship had done. He informed the House that he knew the contents of the papers called for, therefore could assert upon his own knowledge, that the production of them at that time would tend greatly to embarrass a negotiation already in a prosperous train, and which promised an happy conclusion;—He insisted much upon the delicacy of Spanish honour;—that it was their natural characteristic;—that infinite regard and tenderness, ought to be shewn to the punctilios of that court,—and begged of the noble Lords to consider how far these punctilios might unavoidably retard and embarrass a treaty of this nature;—that, as the Messenger only arrived on Monday morning, the Spanish Ambassador probably had not time to make himself master of his dispatches, nor to determine upon the form and manner in which he should execute his instructions. The remainder of his speech, which was delivered in very high terms, and with a tone elevated above the pomp of tragedy, turned entirely upon the flourishing state of this country, and the prudence,

prudence, vigour and vigilance of his Majeſty's ſervants. CHAP. XXXIX. 1770.

Earl of *Chatham*. 'I riſe to give my hearty aſſent to the motion made by the noble Duke; by his Grace's favour, I have been permitted to ſee it, before it was offered to the Houſe. I have fully conſidered the neceſſity of obtaining from the King's ſervants a communication of the papers deſcribed in the motion, and I am perſuaded that the alarming ſtate of facts, as well as the ſtrength of reaſoning, with which the noble Duke has urged, and inforced that neceſſity, muſt have been powerfully felt by your Lordſhips;—what I mean to ſay, upon this occaſion, may ſeem perhaps to extend beyond the limits of the motion before us. But I flatter myſelf, my Lords, that if I am honoured with your attention, it will appear that the meaning and object of this queſtion are naturally connected with conſiderations of the moſt extenſiive, national importance. For entering into ſuch conſiderations, no ſeaſon is improper; no occaſion ſhould be neglected. Something muſt be done, my Lords and immediately, to ſave an injured, inſulted, undone country. If not to ſave Lord Chatham.

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the State, my Lords, at leaſt to mark out, and drag to public juſtice thoſe ſervants of the crown, by whoſe ignorance, neglect, or treachery, this once great flouriſhing people are reduced to a condition as deplorable at home, as it is deſpicable abroad. Examples are wanted, my Lords, and ſhould be given to the world, for the inſtruction of future times, even though they be uſeleſs to ourſelves. I do not mean, my Lords, nor is it intended by the motion, to impede, or embarraſs a negotiation, which we have been told is now in a proſperous train, and promiſes a happy concluſion.'

Lord *Weymouth.* I beg pardon for interrupting the noble Lord, but I think it neceſſary to remark to your Lordſhips, that I have not ſaid a ſingle word tending to convey to your Lordſhips any information, or opinion, with regard to the ſtate, or progreſs of the negotiation—I did, with the utmoſt caution, avoid giving to your Lordſhips the leaſt intimation upon that matter.

Earl of *Chatham.* 'I perfectly agree with the noble Lord. I did not mean to refer to any thing ſaid by his Lordſhip. He

He expreſſed himſelf, as he always does, with moderation, and reſerve, and with the greateſt propriety;—it was another noble Lord, very high in office, who told us he underſtood that the negotiation was in a favourable train.' CHAP. XXXIX. 1770.

Earl of *Hillſborough.* I did not make uſe of the word *Train.* I know the meaning of the word too well. In the language from which it was derived, it ſignifies protraction, and delay, which I could never mean to apply to the preſent negotiation. L. Hillſborough.

Earl of *Chatham.* 'This is the ſecond time that I have been interrupted. I ſubmit it to your Lordſhips whether this be fair, and candid treatment. I am ſure it is contrary to the orders of the Houſe, and a groſs violation of decency, and politeneſs. I liſten to every noble Lord in this Houſe with attention, and reſpect. The noble Lord's deſign in interrupting me, is as mean, and unworthy, as the manner in which he has done it is irregular and diſorderly. He flatters himſelf that, by breaking the thread of my diſcourſe, he ſhall confuſe me in my

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argument. But, my Lords, I will not submit to this treatment. I will not be interrupted. When I have concluded let him anſwer me if he can.—As to the word, which he has denied, I ſtill affirm that it was the word he made uſe of; but if he had uſed any other, I am ſure every noble Lord will agree with me, that his meaning was exactly what I had expreſſed it. Whether he ſaid courſe or train is indifferent—He told your Lordſhips that the negotiation was in a way that promiſed a happy, and honourable concluſion. His diſtinctions are mean, frivolous, and puerile. My Lords,—I do not underſtand the exalted tone aſſumed by that noble Lord. In the diſtreſs, and weakneſs of this country, my Lords, and conſcious as the miniſtry ought to be how much they have contributed to that diſtreſs and weakneſs, I think a tone of modeſty, of ſubmiſſion, of humility, would become them better; *quædam cauſæ modeſtiam deſiderant.* Before this country they ſtand as the greateſt criminals. Such I ſhall prove them to be; for I do not doubt of proving, to your Lordſhips ſatisfaction, that ſince they have been entruſted with the conduct of the King's affairs they have done every thing that they ought

ought not to have done, and hardly any thing that they ought to have done—The noble Lord talks of Spanish punctilios in the lofty style and idiom of a Spaniard. We are to be wonderfully tender of the Spanish point of honour, as if *they* had been the complainants, as if *they* had received the injury. I think he would have done better to have told us, what care had been taken of the English honour. My Lords, I am well acquainted with the character of that nation, at least as far it is represented by their court and ministry, and should think this country dishonoured by a comparison of the English good faith with the punctilios of a Spaniard. My Lords, the English are a candid, an ingenuous people; the Spaniards are as mean and crafty, as they are proud and insolent. The integrity of the English merchant, the generous spirit of our naval and military officers, would be degraded by a comparison with *their* merchants or officers. With their ministers I have often been obliged to negotiate, and never met with an instance of candour or dignity in their proceedings; nothing but low cunning, trick, and artifice. After a long experience of their want of candour and good faith, I found myself compelled

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CHAP. XXXIX. 1770. pelled to talk to them in a peremptory, decisive language. On this principle I submitted my advice to a trembling council for an immediate declaration of a war with Spain. Your Lordships well know what were the consequences of not following that advice. Since, however, for reasons unknown to me, it has been thought adviseable to negotiate with the court of Spain, I should have conceived that the great and single object of such a negotiation would have been, to have obtained complete satisfaction for the injury done to the crown and people of England. But, if I understand the noble Lord, the only object of the present negotiation is to find a salvo for the punctilious honour of the Spaniards. The absurdity of such an idea is of itself insupportable. But, my Lords, I object to our negotiating at all, in our present circumstances. We are not in that situation, in which a great and powerful nation is permitted to negotiate.—A foreign power has forcibly robbed his Majesty of a part of his dominions. Is the island restored? Are you replaced in *statu quo?* If that had been done, it might then perhaps have been justifiable to treat with the aggressor upon the satisfaction he ought to make

make for the inſult offered to the crown of England. But will you deſcend ſo low? will you ſo ſhamefully betray the King's honour, as to make it matter of negotiation whether his Majeſty's poſſeſſions ſhall be reſtored to him or not? I doubt not, my Lords, that there are ſome important myſteries in the conduct of this affair, which, whenever they are explained, will account for the profound ſilence now obſerved by the King's ſervants. The time will come, my Lords, when they ſhall be dragged from their concealments. There are ſome queſtions, which, ſooner or later, muſt be anſwered. The Miniſtry, I find, without declaring themſelves explicitly, have taken pains to poſſeſs the public with an opinion, that the Spaniſh Court have conſtantly diſavowed the proceedings of their governor; and ſome perſons, I ſee, have been ſhameleſs and daring enough to adviſe his Majeſty to ſupport and countenance this opinion in his ſpeech from the throne. Certainly, my Lords, there never was a more odious, a more infamous falſhood impoſed on a great nation—It degrades the King's honour—It is an inſult to parliament. His Majeſty has been adviſed to confirm and give currency

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to an *abſolute falſhood.* I beg your Lordſhip's attention, and I hope I ſhall be underſtood, when I repeat, that the Court of Spain's having diſavowed the act of their governor is an *abſolute, a palpable falſhood.* Let me aſk, my Lords, when the firſt communication was made by the Court of Madrid, of their being appriſed of their taking of Falkland's Iſlands, was it accompanied with an offer of inſtant reſtitution, of immediate ſatisfaction, and the puniſhment of the Spaniſh governor? If it was not, they have adopted the act as their own, and the very mention of a diſavowal is an impudent inſult offered to the King's dignity. The King of Spain diſowns the thief, while he leaves him unpuniſhed, and profits by the theft; in vulgar Engliſh, he is the receiver of ſtolen goods, and ought to be treated accordingly.

'If your Lordſhips will look back to a period of the Engliſh hiſtory, in which the circumſtances are reverſed, in which the Spaniards were the complainants, you will ſee how differently *they* ſucceeded: you will ſee one of the ableſt men, one of the braveſt officers this or any other country ever produced (it is hardly neceſſary to mention the

the name of Sir Walter Raleigh) sacrificed by the meanest prince that ever sat upon the throne, to the vindictive jealousy of that haughty court. James the First was base enough, at the instance of Gondomar, to suffer a sentence against Sir Walter Raleigh, for another supposed offence, to be carried into execution almost twelve years after it had been passed. This was the pretence. His real crime was, that he had mortally offended the Spaniards, while he acted by the King's express orders, and under his commission.

'My Lords, the pretended disavowal by the court of Spain is as ridiculous as it is false. If your Lordships want any other proof, call for your own officers, who were stationed at Falkland Island. Ask the officer who commanded the garrison, whether, when he was summoned to surrender, the demand was made in name of the governor of Buenos Ayres, or of his Catholic Majesty? Was the island said to belong to Don Francisco Bucarelli, or to the King of Spain? If I am not mistaken, we have been in possession of these islands since the year 1764, or 1765. Will the ministry assert, that, in all that

CHAP. XXXIX. 1770. that time, the Spanish court have never once claimed them? that their right to them has never been urged, or mentioned to our ministry? If it has, the act of the governor of Buenos Ayres is plainly the consequence of our refusal to acknowledge and submit to the Spanish claims. For five years they negotiate; when that fails, they take the island by force. If that measure had arisen out of the general instructions, constantly given to the governor of Buenos Ayres, why should the execution of it have been deferred so long?

'My Lords, if the falshood of this pretended disavowal had been confined to the Court of Spain, I should have admitted it without concern. I should have been content that they themselves had left a door open for excuse, and accommodation. The King of England's honour is not touched till he adopts the falshood, delivers it to his Parliament, and makes it his own.

'I cannot quit this subject without comparing the conduct of the present Ministry with that of a Gentleman (Mr. George Grenville,) who is now no more. The occasions

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occaſions were ſimilar.—The French had taken a little iſland from us called Turk's iſland. The Miniſter then at the head of the Treaſury, took the buſineſs upon himſelf; but he did not negotiate: he ſent for the French Ambaſſador and made a peremptory demand. A courier was diſpatched to Paris, and returned in a few days, with orders for inſtant reſtitution, not only of the iſland, but of every thing that the Engliſh ſubjects had loſt*.

'Such

* The ſtate of the fact was as follows:—When the advice arrived in England of the French having ſeized Turk's Iſland, in the year 1764, a debate aroſe in the Britiſh Council upon the meaſures neceſſary to be taken with France upon that occaſion. The whole Council, one only excepted, were for a remonſtrance to the French Court, and they founded their opinion upon an apprehenſion, leſt a ſpirited conduct might induce that Court to break the peace, and by ſome unforeſeen means, precipitate us into meaſures which might terminate in a rupture between the two nations. The one who ventured to differ from all the reſt was the Right Hon. GEORGE GRENVILLE. He urged the neceſſity of a ſpirited conduct as the only means of preſerving the peace. That France, who was unable to continue the late war, was equally incapable of beginning another. That if we did not immediately ſhew a ſpirited and warm reſentment to her behaviour on this occaſion, ſhe would certainly repeat her inſults, and accompany them with language that her pride would oblige her to ſupport, and thus ſilence or tameneſs on our ſide would infallibly lead to a rupture. Upon this, the two Secretaries of State (at that time Lord HALIFAX and Lord SANDWICH) committed the whole negotiation to Mr. GRENVILLE. He undertook it, and ſent for Count GUERCHY, who was at that time the French Ambaſſador

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'Such then, my Lords, are the circumstances of our difference with Spain; and in this situation, we are told that a negoti-

at the British Court. In a short conversation which immediately ensued upon this subject, Mr. GRENVILLE told the Ambassador in plain terms, that the French forces who had invaded and seized Turk's Island must immediately evacuate the same, and restore it to the quiet possession of the English. The Ambassador said in excuse for the conduct of his Court, that the King, his master, had claims upon that island, and that he was ready to enter into a negotiation upon them. To which the English Minister peremptorily answered, whatever claims you have, set them up, we will hear them. But first, the island must and shall be restored. We will not hear of any claims or negotiation while the island is in the hands of the French King. It is absurd to seize the island, and then talk of a negotiation about claims. When the island is restored to his Britannic Majesty, then, and not till then, will a single word about claims be heard or admitted. He concluded in a firm and determined manner to this effect. Sir, I will wait nine days for your answer, in which time you may send and receive advice from your Court, whether the King will immediately order his forces to evacuate Turk's Island, and restore it to the full and quiet possession of the English, or not: and if I do not receive your answer at the end of nine days, the fleet that is now lying at Portsmouth [there was a fleet then at Portsmouth, waiting for sailing orders] shall sail directly to the island and reinstate it in the possession of the King of Great Britain. The Ambassador went away, and soon after returned to shew the British Minister the dispatches he had prepared upon the occasion. Mr. GRENVILLE gave him leave to insert the conversation that had passed between them. On the sixth day, a copy of the orders signed by the French King, for restoring the island to the English, arrived.

A similar measure of spirit was adopted by the same Minister with the Spaniards, who had drove our settlers from Honduras, to whom fourteen days had been allowed: upon which all was instantly and amicably adjusted.

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ation has been entered into, that this negotiation, which muſt have commenced near three months ago, is ſtill depending, and that any inſight into the actual ſtate of it will impede the concluſion. My Lords, I am not, for my own part, very anxious to draw from the Miniſtry the information which they take ſo much care to conceal from us. I very well know where this honourable negotiation *will* end; where it *muſt* end.—We may, perhaps, be able to patch up an accommodation for the preſent, but we ſhall have a Spaniſh war in ſix months. Some of your Lordſhips may, perhaps, remember the convention. For ſeveral ſucceſſive years our merchants had been plundered—no protection given them—no redreſs obtained for them; during all that time we were contented to complain, and to negotiate;—the Court of Madrid were then as ready to diſown their officers, and as unwilling to puniſh them, as they are at preſent. Whatever violence happened was always laid to the charge of one or other of their Weſt India Governors. To-day it was the Governor of Cuba, to-morrow of Porto Rico, Carthagena, or Porto Bello. If in a particular inſtance, redreſs was promiſed, how was that promiſe

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promiſe kept? The merchant, who had been robbed of his property, was ſent to the Weſt Indies, to get it, if he could out of an empty cheſt. At laſt the convention was made; but, though approved by a majority of both Houſes, was received by the nation with univerſal diſcontent. I myſelf heard that wiſe man (Sir *Robert Walpole*) ſay in the Houſe of Commons, "'Tis true we have got a convention and a vote of Parliament; but what ſignifies it, we ſhall have a Spaniſh war upon the back of our convention."—' Here, my Lords, I cannot help mentioning a very ſtriking obſervation made to me by a noble Lord, (the late Lord *Granville*) ſince dead. His abilities did honour to this Houſe, and to this nation. In the upper departments of Government he had not his equal; and I feel a pride in declaring, that to his patronage, to his friendſhip, and inſtruction, I owe whatever I am.—This great man has often obſerved to me that, in all the negotiations which preceded the convention, our Miniſters never found out that there was no ground, or ſubject for any negotiation. That the Spaniards had not a right to ſearch our ſhips, and when they attempted to regulate that right by treaty, they were regulating a thing

thing which did not exiſt. This I take to be ſomething like the caſe of the Miniſtry. The Spaniards have ſeized an iſland they have no right to, and his Majeſty's ſervants make it matter of negotiation, whether his dominions ſhall be reſtored to him or not.

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'From what I have ſaid, my Lords, I do not doubt but it will be underſtood by many Lords, and given out to the public, that I am for hurrying the nation, at all events, into a war with Spain. My Lords, I diſclaim ſuch councils, and I beg that this declaration may be remembered—Let us have peace, my Lords, but let it be honourable, let it be ſecure. A patched up peace will not do. It will not ſatisfy the nation, though it may be approved of by Parliament. I diſtinguiſh widely between a ſolid peace, and the diſgraceful expedients, by which a war may be deferred, but cannot be avoided. I am as tender of the effuſion of human blood, as the noble Lord who dwelt ſo long upon the miſeries of the war. If the bloody politics of ſome noble Lords had been followed, England, and every quarter of his Majeſty's dominions would have been glutted with blood—the blood of our own countrymen.

'My

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'My Lords, I have better reafons, perhaps, than many of your Lordfhips for defiring peace upon the terms I have defcribed. I know the ftrength and preparation of the Houfe of Bourbon; I know the defencelefs, unprepared condition of this country. I know not by what mifmanagement we are reduced to this fituation; and when I confider, who are the men by whom a war, in the outfet at leaft, muft be conducted, can I but wifh for peace?—Let them not fcreen themfelves behind the want of intelligence—they had intelligence: I know they had. If they had not, they are criminal; and their excufe is their crime.—But I will tell thefe young Minifters the true fource of intelligence. It is fagacity. Sagacity to compare caufes and effects; to judge of the prefent ftate of things, and difcern the future by a careful review of the paft.—*Oliver Cromwell*, who aftonifhed mankind by his intelligence, did not derive it from fpies in the Cabinet of every Prince in Europe: he drew it from the cabinet of his own fagacious mind. He obferved facts and traced them forward to their confequences. From what was, he concluded what muft be, and he never was deceived. In the prefent fituation of affairs,

I think

I think it would be treachery to the nation to conceal from them their real circumſtances, and with reſpect to a foreign enemy, I know that all concealments are vain and uſeleſs. They are as well acquainted with the actual force and weakneſs of this country, as any of the King's ſervants.—This is no time for ſilence, or reſerve. I charge the Miniſters with the higheſt crimes that men in their ſtations can be guilty of. I charge them with having deſtroyed all content and unanimity at home, by a ſeries of oppreſſive, unconſtitutional meaſures; and with having betrayed, and delivered up the nation defenceleſs to a foreign enemy.

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'Their utmoſt vigour has reached no farther than to a fruitleſs, protracted negotiation. When they ſhould have acted, they have contented themſelves with talking *about it, Goddeſs, and about it*—If we do not ſtand forth, and do our duty in the preſent criſis, the nation is irretrievably undone. I deſpiſe the little policy of concealments. You ought to know the whole of your ſituation. If the information be new to the Miniſtry, let them take care to profit by it. I mean to rouſe, to alarm the whole nation—to rouſe

CHAP. XXXIX. 1770. the Miniſtry, if poſſible, who ſeem to awake to nothing but the preſervation of their places—to awaken the King.

'Early in the laſt ſpring, a motion was made in Parliament, for enquiring into the ſtate of the Navy, and an augmentation of ſix thouſand ſeamen was offered to the Miniſtry. They refuſed to give us any inſight into the condition of the Navy, and rejected the augmentation. Early in June they received advice of a commencement of hoſtilities by a Spaniſh armament, which had warned the King's garriſon to quit an iſland belonging to his Majeſty. From that to the 12th of September, as if nothing had happened, they lay dormant. Not a man was raiſed, not a ſingle ſhip was put into commiſſion. From the 12th of September, when they heard of the firſt blow being actually ſtruck, we are to date the beginning of their preparations for defence. Let us now enquire, my Lords, what expedition they have uſed, what vigour they have exerted. We have heard wonders of the diligence employed in impreſſing, of the large bounties offered, and the number of ſhips put into commiſſion. Theſe have been, for ſome time

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time paſt, the conſtant topics of Miniſterial boaſt and triumph. Without regarding the deſcription, let us look to the ſubſtance. I tell your Lordſhips that, with all this vigour and expedition, they have not, in a period of conſiderably more than two months, raiſed ten thouſand ſeamen. I mention that number, meaning to ſpeak largely, though in my own breaſt, I am convinced that the number does not exceed eight thouſand. But it is ſaid they have ordered forty ſhips of the line into commiſſion. My Lords, upon this ſubject I can ſpeak with knowledge—I have been converſant in theſe matters, and draw my information from the greateſt and moſt reſpectable naval authority that ever exiſted in this country—I mean the late Lord *Anſon*. The merits of that great man are not ſo univerſally known, nor his memory ſo warmly reſpected as he deſerved. To his wiſdom, to his experience, and care, (and I ſpeak it with pleaſure) the nation owes the glorious naval ſucceſſes of the laſt war. The ſtate of facts laid before Parliament in the year 1756, ſo entirely convinced me of the injuſtice done to his character, that in ſpite of the popular clamours raiſed againſt him, in direct oppoſition to the com-

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plaints of the merchants, and of the whole city, (whofe favour I am fuppofed to court upon all occafions) I replaced him at the head of the Admiralty; and I thank God that I had refolution enough to do fo. Inftructed by this great feaman, I do affirm, that forty fhips of the line, with their neceffary attendant frigates, to be properly manned, require forty thoufand feamen. If your Lordfhips are furprifed at this affertion, you will be more fo, when I affure you, that in the laft war, this country maintained 85,000 feamen, and employed them all. Now, my Lords, the peace eftablifhment of your navy, fuppofing it complete, and effective, (which by the by ought to be known) is fixteen thoufand men. Add to thefe the number newly raifed, and you have about twenty-five thoufand men to man your fleet. I fhall come prefently to the application of this force, fuch as it is, and compare it with the fervices, which I know are indifpenfable. But firft, my Lords, let us have done with the boafted vigour of the Miniftry. Let us hear no more of their activity. If your Lordfhips will recal to your minds the ftate of this country when Mahon was taken, and compare what was done by Government at that

that time, with the efforts now made in very ſimilar circumſtances, you will be able to determine what praiſe is due to the vigorous operations of the preſent Miniſtry. Upon the firſt intelligence of the invaſion of Minorca, a great fleet was equipped, and ſent out: and near double the number of ſeamen collected in half the time taken to fit out the preſent force, which pitiful as it is, is not yet, if the occaſion were ever ſo preſſing, in a condition to go to ſea. Conſult the returns, which were laid before Parliament in the year 1756. I was one of thoſe who urged a Parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of the Miniſtry. That Miniſtry, my Lords, in the midſt of univerſal cenſure and reproach, had honour and virtue enough to promote the inquiry themſelves. They ſcorned to evade it by the mean expedient of putting a previous queſtion, Upon the ſtricteſt inquiry it appeared, that the diligence they had uſed in ſending a Squadron to the Mediterranean, and in their other naval preparations, was beyond all example.

'My Lords, the ſubject on which I am ſpeaking, ſeems to call upon me, and I willingly take this occaſion to declare my opinion

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upon a queſtion, on which much wicked pains have been employed to diſturb the minds of the people, and to diſtreſs Government.—My opinion may not be very popular; neither am I running the race of popularity. I am myſelf clearly convinced, and I believe every man who knows any thing of the Engliſh navy will acknowledge, that without impreſſing, it is impoſſible to equip a reſpectable fleet within the time in which ſuch armaments are uſually wanted. If this fact be admitted, and if the neceſſity of arming upon a ſudden emergency ſhould appear incontrovertible, what ſhall we think of thoſe men, who in the moment of danger, would ſtop the great defence of their country. Upon whatever principle they may act, the act itſelf is more than faction—it is labouring to cut off the right hand of the community. I wholly condemn their conduct, and am ready to ſupport any motion that may be made, for bringing thoſe aldermen, who have endeavoured to ſtop the execution of the Admiralty warrants, to the bar of this Houſe. My Lords, I do not reſt my opinion merely upon neceſſity. I am ſatisfied that the power of impreſſing is founded upon uninterrupted uſage. It is the *conſuetudo*

tudo Regni, and part of the common law prerogative of the crown. When I condemn the proceedings of ſome perſons upon this occaſion, let me do juſtice to a man whoſe character and conduct have been moſt infamouſly traduced; I mean the late Lord Mayor, Mr. *Trecothick*. In the midſt of reproach and clamour, he had firmneſs enough to perſevere in doing his duty. I do not know in office a more upright magiſtrate; nor, in private life, a worthier man. CHAP. XXXIX. 1770.

'Permit me now, my Lords, to ſtate to your Lordſhips the extent and variety of the ſervice which muſt be provided for, and to compare them with our apparent reſources. A due attention to, and proviſion for theſe ſervices, is prudence in time of peace; in war it is neceſſity. Preventive policy, my Lords, which obviates or avoids the injury, is far preferable to that vindictive policy, which aims at reparation, or has no object but revenge. The precaution that meets the diſorder is cheap and eaſy; the remedy which follows it, bloody and expenſive. The firſt great and acknowledged object of national defence in this country, is to maintain ſuch a ſuperior naval force at home,

 that

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that even the united fleets of France and Spain may never be maſters of the Channel. If that ſhould ever happen, what is there to hinder their landing in Ireland, or even upon our own coaſt? They have often made the attempt: in King *William's* time it ſucceeded. King *James* embarked on board a French fleet, and landed with a French army in Ireland. In the mean time the French were maſters of the Channel, and continued ſo until their fleet was deſtroyed by Admiral *Ruſſel*. As to the probable conſequences of a foreign army landing in Great Britain or Ireland, I ſhall offer your Lordſhips my opinion when I ſpeak of the actual condition of our ſtanding army.

'The ſecond naval object with an Engliſh miniſter, ſhould be to maintain at all times a powerful weſtern ſquadron. In the profoundeſt peace it ſhould be reſpectable; in war it ſhould be formidable. Without it, the colonies, the commerce, the navigation of Great Britain, lie at the mercy of the Houſe of Bourbon. While *I* had the honour of acting with Lord *Anſon*, that able officer never ceaſed to inculcate upon the minds of his Majeſty's ſervants the neceſſity of

conſtantly

constantly maintaining a strong western squadron; and I must vouch for him, that while *he* was at the head of the marine it was never neglected.

'The third object indispensable, as I conceive, in the distribution of our navy, is to maintain such a force in the Bay of Gibraltar as may be sufficient to cover that garrison, to watch the motions of the Spaniards, and to keep open the communication with Minorca. The ministry will not betray such want of information as to dispute the truth of any of these propositions. But how will your Lordships be astonished, when I inform you in what manner they have provided for these great, these essential objects? As to the first, I mean the defence of the Channel, I take upon myself to affirm to your Lordships, that, at this hour (and I beg that the date may be taken down and observed) we cannot send out eleven ships of the line so manned and equipped that any officer of rank and credit in the service shall accept of the command and stake his reputation upon it. We have one ship of the line at Jamaica, one at the Leeward islands, and one at Gibraltar; yet at this very moment, for

CHAP. XXXIX. 1770. for ought the miniſtry kuow, both Jamaica and Gibraltar may be attacked; and if they are attacked (which God forbid) they muſt fall. Nothing can prevent it but the appearance of a ſuperior ſquadron. It is true that, ſome two months ago, four ſhips of the line were ordered from Portſmouth, and one from Plymouth, to carry a relief from Ireland to Gibraltar. Theſe ſhips, my Lords, a week ago, were ſtill in port. If, upon their arrival at Gibraltar, they ſhould find the Bay poſſeſſed by a ſuperior ſquadron, the relief cannot be landed: and if it could be landed, of what force do your Lordſhips think it conſiſts? Two regiments, of four hundred men each, at a time like this, are ſent to ſecure a place of ſuch importance as Gibraltar! a place which it is univerſally agreed cannot hold againſt a vigorous attack from the ſea, if once the enemy ſhould be ſo far maſters of the Bay as to make a good landing even with a moderate force. The indiſpenſable ſervice of the lines requires at leaſt four thouſand men. The preſent garriſon conſiſts of about two thouſand three hundred; ſo that, if the relief ſhould be fortunate enough to get on ſhore, they will

want

want eight hundred men of their neceſſary complement.

'Let us now, my Lords, turn our eyes homewards. When the defence of Great Britain or Ireland is in queſtion, it is no longer a point of honour; it is not the ſecurity of foreign commerce, or foreign poſſeſſions; we are to contend for the very being of the ſtate. I have good authority to aſſure your Lordſhips that the Spaniards have now a fleet at Ferrol, completely manned and ready to ſail, which we are in no condition to meet. We could not this day ſend out eleven ſhips of the line properly equipped, and to-morrow the enemy may be maſters of the Channel. It is unneceſſary to preſs the conſequences of theſe facts upon your Lordſhips minds. If the enemy were to land in full force, either upon this coaſt or in Ireland, where is your army? where is your defence? My Lords, if the Houſe of Bourbon make a wiſe and vigorous uſe of the actual advantages they have over us, it is more than probable that on this day month we may not be a nation. What military force can the miniſtry ſhew to anſwer any ſudden demand? I do not ſpeak of foreign expeditions,

CHAP. XXXIX. 1770. expeditions, or offenſive operations. I ſpeak of the interior defence of Ireland, and of this country. You have a nominal army of ſeventy battalions, beſides guards and cavalry. But what is the eſtabliſhment of theſe battalions? Suppoſing they were complete to the numbers allowed (which I know they are not) each regiment would conſiſt of ſomething leſs than four hundred men, rank and file. Are theſe battalions complete? Have any orders been given for an augmentation, or do the miniſtry mean to continue them upon their preſent low eſtabliſhment? When America, the Weſt Indies, Gibraltar, and Minorca, are taken care of, conſider, my Lords, what part of this army will remain to defend Ireland and Great Britain? This ſubject, my Lords, leads me to conſiderations of foreign policy and foreign alliance. It is more connected with them than your Lordſhips may at firſt imagine. When I compare the numbers of our people, eſtimated highly at ſeven millions, with the population of France and Spain, uſually computed at twenty-five millions, I ſee a clear, ſelf-evident impoſſibility for this country to contend with the united power of the houſe of Bourbon, merely upon the ſtrength of its own

own resources. They who talk of confining a great war to naval operations only, speak without knowledge or experience. We can no more command the disposition than the events of a war. Where ever we are attacked, there we must defend.

'I have been much abused, my Lords, for supporting a war, which it has been the fashion to call *my* German war. But I can affirm, with a clear conscience, that, that abuse has been thrown on me by men, who were either unacquainted with facts, or had an interest in misrepresenting them, I shall speak plainly and frankly to your Lordships upon this, as I do upon every occasion. That I did in Parliament oppose, to the utmost of my power, our engaging in a German war, is most true; and if the same circumstance were to recur, I would act the same part, and oppose it again. But when I was called upon to take a share in the administration, that measure was already decided. Before I was appointed Secretary of State, the first treaty with the King of Prussia was signed, and not only ratified by the crown, but approved of and confirmed by a resolution of both Houses of Parliament.

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Parliament. It was a weight fastened upon my neck. By that treaty, the honour of the crown and the honour of the nation were equally engaged. How I could recede from such an engagement; how I could advise the crown to desert a great prince in the midst of those difficulties, in which a reliance upon the good faith of this country had contributed to involve him, are questions I willingly submit to your Lordships candor. That wonderful man might, perhaps, have extricated himself from his difficulties without our assistance. He has talents which, in every thing that touches the human capacity, do honour to the human mind. But how would England have supported that reputation of credit and good faith, by which we have been distinguished in Europe? What other foreign power would have sought our friendship? What other foreign power would have accepted of an alliance with us?

'But, my Lords, though I wholly condemn our entering into any engagements which tend to involve us in a continental war, I do not admit that alliances with some of the German Princes are either detrimen-

tal

tal or uſeleſs. They *may be*, my Lords, not only uſeful, but neceſſary. I hope, indeed, I never ſhall ſee an army of foreign auxiliaries in Great Britain; we do not want it. If our people are united; if they are attached to the King, and place a confidence in his government, we have an internal ſtrength ſufficient to repel any foreign invaſion. With reſpect to Ireland, my Lords, I am not of the ſame opinion. If a powerful foreign army were landed in that kingdom, with arms ready to be put into the hands of the Roman Catholics, I declare freely to your Lordſhips, that I ſhould heartily wiſh it were poſſible to collect twenty thouſand German proteſtants, whether from Heſſe or Brunſwick, or Wolfenbottle, or even the unpopular Hanoverian, and land them in Ireland. I wiſh it, my Lords, becauſe I am convinced that, whenever the caſe happens, we ſhall have no Engliſh army to ſpare.

'I have taken a wide circuit, my Lords; and treſpaſſed, I fear, too long upon your Lordſhips patience. Yet I cannot conclude without endeavouring to bring home your thoughts to an object more immediately intereſting to us than any I have yet conſidered;

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considered; I mean the internal condition of this country. We may look abroad for wealth, or triumphs, or luxury; but England, my Lords, is the main stay, the last resort of the whole empire. To this point every scheme of policy whether foreign or domestic, should ultimately refer. Have any measures been taken to satisfy, or to unite the people? Are the grievances they have so long complained of removed? or do they stand not only unredressed, but aggravated? Is the right of free election restored to the elective body? My Lords, I myself am one of the people. I esteem that security and independance, which is the original birthright of an Englishman, far beyond the privileges, however splendid, which are annexed to the peerage. I myself am by birth an English elector, and join with the freeholders of England as in a common cause. Believe me, my Lords, we mistake our real interest as much as our duty, when we separate ourselves from the mass of the people. Can it be expected that Englishmen will unite heartily in the defence of a government, by which they feel themselves insulted and oppressed? Restore them to their rights; that is the true way to make them unanimous.

It

It is not a ceremonious recommendation from the throne, that can bring back peace and harmony to a discontented people. That insipid annual opiate has been administered so long, that it has lost its effect. Something substantial, something effectual must be done. CHAP. XXXIX. 1770.

'The public credit of the nation stands next in degree to the rights of the constitution; it calls loudly for the interposition of Parliament. There is a set of men, my Lords, in the city of London, who are known to live in riot and luxury, upon the plunder of the ignorant, the innocent, the helpless— upon that part of the community, which stands most in need of, and best deserves the care and protection of legislature. To me, my Lords, whether they be miserable jobbers of 'Change-alley, or the lofty Asiatic plunderers of Leadenhall-street, they are all equally detestable. I care but little whether a man walks on foot, or is drawn by eight horses or six horses; if his luxury be supported by the plunder of his country, I despise and detest him. My Lords, while I had the honour of serving his Majesty, I never ventured

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tured to look at the Treaſury but at a diſtance; it is a buſineſs I am unfit for, and to which I never could have ſubmitted. The little I know of it has not ſerved to raiſe my opinion of what is vulgarly called the *monied intereſt;* I mean that blood-ſucker, that muckworm, which calls itſelf the friend of government—that pretends to ſerve this or that adminiſtration, and may be purchaſed, on the ſame terms, by any adminiſtration—that advances money to government, and takes ſpecial care of its own emoluments. Under this deſcription I include the whole race of commiſſiaries, jobbers, contractors, clothiers, and remitters. Yet I do not deny that, even with theſe creatures ſome management may be neceſſary. I hope my Lords, that nothing I have ſaid will be underſtood to extend to the honeſt, induſtrious tradeſman, who holds the middle rank, and has given repeated proofs, that he prefers law and liberty to gold. I love that claſs of men. Much leſs would I be thought to reflect upon the fair merchant, whoſe liberal commerce is the prime ſource of national wealth. I eſteem his occupation, and reſpect his character.

'My

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'My Lords, if the general repreſentation, which I have had the honour to lay before you of the ſituation of public affairs, has, in any meaſure, engaged your attention; your Lordſhips, I am ſure, will agree with me, that the ſeaſon calls for more than common prudence and vigour in the direction of our Councils. The difficulty of the criſis demands a wiſe, a firm and a popular adminiſtration. The diſhonourable traffic of places has engaged us too long. Upon this ſubject, my Lords, I ſpeak without intereſt or enmity. I have no perſonal objection to any of the King's ſervants. I ſhall never be miniſter; certainly not without full power to cut away all the rotten branches of Government. Yet, unconcerned as I truly am for myſelf, I cannot avoid ſeeing ſome capital errors in the diſtribution of the royal favour. There are men, my Lords, who, if their own ſervices were forgotten, ought to have an hereditary merit with the Houſe of Hanover; whoſe anceſtors ſtood forth in the day of trouble, oppoſed their perſons and fortunes to treachery and rebellion, and ſecured to his Majeſty's family this ſplendid power of rewarding. There are other men, my Lords, *(looking ſternly at Lord Mansfield)* who,

CHAP. XXXIX. 1770. who, to ſpeak tenderly of them, were not quite ſo forward in the demonſtrations of their zeal to the reigning family; there was another cauſe, my Lords, and a partiality to it, which ſome perſons had not, at all times, diſcretion enough to conceal. I know I ſhall be accuſed of attempting to revive diſtinctions. My Lords, if it were poſſible, I would aboliſh all diſtinctions. I would not wiſh the favours of the Crown to flow invariable in one channel. But there are ſome diſtinctions, which are inherent in the nature of things. There is a diſtinction between right and wrong,—between Whig and Tory.

'When I ſpeak of an adminiſtration, ſuch as the neceſſity of the ſeaſon calls for, my views are large and comprehenſive.—It muſt be popular, that it may begin with reputation. —It muſt be ſtrong within itſelf, that it may proceed with vigour and deciſion. An adminiſtration, formed upon an excluſive ſyſtem of family connexions, or private friendſhips, cannot, I am convinced, be long ſupported in this country. Yet, my Lords, no man reſpects, or values more than I do, that honourable connection, which ariſes from

from a difinterefted concurrence in opinion upon public meafures, or from the facred bond of private friendfhip and efteem. What I mean is, that no fingle man's private friendfhips, or connexions, however extenfive, are fufficient of themfelves, either to form or overturn an adminiftration.—With refpect to the miniftry I believe, they have fewer rivals than they imagine. No prudent man will covet a fituation fo befet with difficulty and danger.

'I fhall trouble your Lordfhips with but a few words more. His Majefty tells us in his fpeech, that he will call upon us for our advice, if it fhould be neceffary in the farther progrefs of this affair.—It is not eafy to fay whether or no the miniftry are ferious in this declaration; nor what is meant by the *progrefs* of an affair, which refts upon one fixed point. Hitherto we have not been called upon.—But though we are not confulted, it is our right and duty as the King's great, hereditary Council, to offer him our advice.—The papers, mentioned in the noble Duke's motion, will enable us to form a juft and accurate opinion of the conduct of his Majefty's fervants, though not of the actual

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actual ſtate of their honourable negotiations. The miniſtry too, ſeem to want advice upon ſome points, in which their own ſafety is immediately concerned. They are now balancing between a war which they ought to have foreſeen, but for which they have made no proviſion, and an ignominious compromiſe.—Let me warn them of their danger. —If they are forced into a war, they ſtand it at the hazard of their heads. If, by an ignominious compromiſe, they ſhould ſtain the honour of the crown, or ſacrifice the rights of the people, let them look to the conſequences and conſider whether they will be able to walk the ſtreets in ſafety.'

The motion was negatived by the previous queſtion.

There are many intereſting Facts in the negotiation concerning Falkland's Iſlands, which not being related in the papers laid before Parliament, nor to be found in the public accounts of this tranſaction, it is preſumed, they may, without impropriety, be given in this place. The dates of the public facts, the reader will find in the note*. The

* On the 20th of February, 1770, two Spaniſh frigates arrived at Port Egmont; and, in the name of the King of Spain, ordered all

The negotiation began on the 12th day of September, 1770. On that day the British CHAP. XXXIX. 1770.

all our people to evacuate the island. But Captain Hunt, who was the English commanding officer there, refused to obey; upon which the Spaniards took possession of the island in the name of his Catholic Majesty, and gave the English notice, in form, to quit the same in six months.

On the 6th of March, Captain Hunt sailed for England, leaving Captain Fermor at Falkland's Island. He thought it the most advisable to bring intelligence of the above transaction to the Ministry at home; and, at the same time, leave a force at the island, to watch the motions of the Spaniards.

On the 30th of May, 1770, Captain Hunt arrived at Plymouth, and immediately set out for London, and acquainted the Lords of the Admiralty with every particular at Falkland's Islands. The King having expressed a desire to see his journal, it was carried to his Majesty by Sir Edward Hawke. Some account of this affair having got into the public prints, the Ministry immediately contradicted it in the strongest terms. Their writers asserted, that the Spanish frigates touched at Port-Egmont *only* to get fresh water; that the officers did not even go ashore, &c. (See all the London newspapers of June 9, 1770.) In about six weeks after the arrival of Captain Hunt, Prince Masserano, the Spanish Minister in London, acquainted Lord Weymouth, in a conference, that by that time the forces of his Catholic Majesty were certainly in possession of Falkland's Islands. Still no notice was taken.

The affair was kept secret until the 9th of September, when advice arrived from Spain, that Falkland's Islands were actually taken by the Spaniards. The same courier brought advice of the galleons being arrived at Cadiz.

On the 13th of September, the Admiralty ordered sixteen guardships to be got ready. This was the first alarm. The stocks fell considerably. More guardships were ordered, and press

CHAP. XXXIX. 1770. tish Ministry sent their first memorial to the Court of Madrid. The Spanish Minister gave a short answer, that as the King of Great Britain had no Minister at Madrid, the King of Spain would send his answer to Prince *Masserano*, his Minister at London §.

press warrants were issued. A few knew the cause, but the public were kept ignorant. Lord Holland, Lord Hertford, and several other ministerial lords, and their friends, sold large sums out of the funds. The Duke of Bedford's party were for preserving the peace at any rate; and Lord Rochford being of a different opinion, they tried to remove him. The King refused to comply with their wishes.

A *bon mot* at this time deserves to be noted. Lord Hertford asked Lord Rochford, at Court, *Well, my Lord, what news—peace or war?* Lord Rochford answered, *They are at seventy-nine, seven-eighths, my Lord.*

[*During the negotiation between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Bussy, in the year 1761, it was discovered that Mr. S——, one of the clerks in the Secretary of State's office,* GAMBLED *in the public funds, upon which he was instantly discharged.*]

On the 22d of September, the Favourite frigate, Captain Fermor, arrived at Portsmouth, from Falkland's Islands, with the remainder of our people; the Spaniards having taken possession of the Islands on the 24th of June, 1770, with a superior force.

§ Upon Sir *James Gray* leaving Madrid in 1768, Mr. *George Pitt*, now Lord *Rivers*, was appointed his successor; but he never went: and the Secretary of the Embassy, Mr. *Harris*, now Lord *Malmesbury*, whom Sir *James Gray* left at Madrid, was the only representative of the British Sovereign at that Court. Though at that time a young man, he conducted this negotiation, as far as he was concerned in it, with uncommon ability, and a very becoming spirit.

It is neceſſary to obſerve, for the reader's information, that the ſyſtem of the Britiſh Court, ſince the acceſſion of the preſent King, has been to maintain *two* Cabinets—one *official*, the other *efficient*. The *official* Cabinet, conſiſting of the official Miniſters of the ſeveral departments of the State, carried on the negotiation with the Court of Madrid. The *efficient* Cabinet, conſiſting of perſons of lower rank, ſuch as are commonly known by the denomination of *ſecond-rate-men*, but who were honoured with the full and unlimited confidence of the Cloſet, carried on at the ſame time a counter-negotiation with the French Court.

At the beginning of the negotiation, there was a diſpoſition in both theſe Cabinets, to reſent the inſult of the Spaniſh Court; but after the return of the *Princeſs of Wales* from the Continent, which was in the month of October, the tone of the *efficient* Cabinet was changed; and they more than once, oppoſed with ſucceſs, the official Miniſters. At length, on the fifteenth day of December, 1770, Lord *Weymouth*, who was Secretary of State for foreign affairs, being wearied with delay and evaſion, propoſed

CHAP. XXXIX. posed in Council to recall Mr. *Harris* from Madrid. His Lordship followed the example of Lord *Chatham*, who, in 1761, proposed to recall Lord *Bristol* from the same Court. Lord *Weymouth*'s proposition was rejected; upon which he immediately resigned. Lord *Rochford* succeeded to Lord *Weymouth*'s department; and adopting Lord *Weymouth*'s spirit, he adopted his Lordship's proposition also; for at a Cabinet Council, held on the twenty-first, the proposition to recall Mr. *Harris* was agreed to. Whatever happened between the fifteenth and the twenty-first, to occasion this change of opinion in the majority of the Cabinet, is not exactly known; but it was said, that Prince *Masserano* had sent a letter to Lord *Rochford*, written in such strong terms, as to induce his Lordship to menace the Cabinet with another resignation, if the proposition was not agreed to.

On the twenty-second, the counter negotiation of the efficient Council, began to emerge from its dark chamber. The confidential Minister of the closet, held a conference with M. *Francois*, Secretary to the Embassy of France at the Court of London, upon

upon the ſubject of terms of accommodation with Spain. This ſecret negotiation was unknown to the French Miniſter, M. le Duc de *Choiſeul;* who had entered fully into the deſigns of Spain, and had firmly reſolved to ſupport that power in her intended war with Great Britain. At this time, there was a ſtrong party in the French Court againſt *Choiſeul*, conſiſting of Madame *Barre*, the Princes of the Blood, the Prince de *Soubize*, and of other great perſons; who had, for ſeveral months paſt, anxiouſly and eagerly wiſhed to procure the diſmiſſion of the Miniſter; but hitherto he had maintained his intereſt with the King, notwithſtanding all their efforts againſt him. The King was now advanced beyond the climacteric of life, and was affectionately attached to the ſeaſon of peace: becauſe it afforded him more opportunity to indulge in his favourite pleaſures, than the period of war. For this reaſon M. *Choiſeul* had not acquainted the King with his deſign of co-operating with Spain; by which he had flattered himſelf, that he ſhould obliterate the diſgraces of the late war. The deſign was diſcovered, or rather made known to Madame *Barre;* who immediately prejudiced the King ſo ſtrongly againſt

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against the project of his Minister, that he yeilded to her importunities; and dismissed him from all his employments*. And, at the

Resignation of Ld. Hawke.

* At the end of the year 1770, Lord *Hawke* quitted the Admiralty. The following paper, which is taken from the public prints of that time, seems to explain this resignation, and some other circumstances:

January 15, 1771.

"If Sir *Edward Hawke* had followed the advice and example of his friends, he would not have been reduced to the dishonourable necessity of quitting the direction of the English navy, at the very moment it is going to be employed against the foreign enemies of England. To be left in employment, after Chatham and Granby had retired;—to continue in it, in company with Gower and Hillsborough; are circumstances too disgraceful to admit of aggravation. It is natural to sympathise in the distresses of a brave man, and to lament that a noble estate of reputation should be squandered away in debts of dishonour contracted amongst sharpers.

"His Majesty, God bless him, has now got rid of every man, whose former services, or present scruples, could be supposed to give offence to *her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales*. Her Royal Highness's scheme of Government, formed long before her husband's death, is now accomplished. She has succeeded in disuniting every party, and dissolving every connexion; and, by the mere influence of the Crown, has formed an administration, such as it is, out of the refuse of them all. There are two leading principles in the politics of St. James's, which will account for almost every measure of Government since the King's accession. The first is, that the prerogative is sufficient to make a lackey Prime Minister, and to maintain him in that post, without any regard to the welfare or to the opinion of the people.—The second is, that none but persons insignificant in themselves, or of tainted reputation,

the ſame time, exiled him to Chanteloux.— Several Engliſh, as well as French gentlemen, CHAP. XXXIX. 1770.

reputation, ſhould be brought into employment. Men of greater conſequences and abilities, will have opinions of their own, and will not ſubmit to the meddling, unnatural ambition of a mother, who graſps at unlimited power, at the hazard of her ſon's deſtruction. They will not ſuffer meaſures of public utility, which have been reſolved upon in Council, to be checked and controuled by a ſecret influence in the cloſet. Such men conſequently will never be called upon, but in caſes of extreme neceſſity. When that ceaſes, they find their places no longer tenable. To anſwer the purpoſes of an ambitious woman, an Adminiſtration muſt be formed of more pliant materials; of men, who, having no connection with each other, no perſonal intereſt, no weight of conſideration with the people, may ſeparately depend upon the ſmiles of the Crown alone, for their advancement to high offices, and for their continuance in them. If ſuch men reſiſt the Princeſs Dowager's pleaſure, his Majeſty knows that he may diſmiſs them without riſquing any thing from their reſentment. His wiſdom ſuggeſts to him, that if he were to chuſe his Miniſters for any of thoſe qualities, which might entitle them to public eſteem, the nation might take part with them, and reſent their diſmiſſion. As it is, whenever he changes his ſervants, he is ſure to have the people, in that inſtance, on his ſide.

"The Princeſs Dowager having now carried her plan of Adminiſtration into effect, it is not to be wondered that ſhe ſhould be very unwilling to expoſe herſelf, and her ſchemes, to the uncertain events of a foreign war. She knows that a diſaſter abroad would not only defeat the cunning plan of female avarice and ambition, but that it might reach farther. The mothers of our Kings have heretofore been impeached; and if the precedents are not ſo compleat as they ſhould be, they will admit of improvements."

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S S...

CHAP. XXXIX. 1770. men, and perſons of high rank, viſited him in his exile. He was the firſt exiled French Miniſter,

To this explanation of the prevailing *court ſyſtem* of the period, it may be very proper to add a ſhort account of another *prominent trait* in the character of the Britiſh government. The death of the Princeſs Dowager of Wales, which happened a few years afterwards, made no difference in the exiſtence of this trait. Her political influence was only transferred.

The official miniſters, of the ſeveral departments, had been choſen from the time of the acceſſion, under the politics of Lord Bute, not upon account of any qualification of merit they poſſeſſed; but upon the condition of perfect obedience to thoſe perſons, who were honoured with the confidence of the cloſet. And that the condition of this obedience might be the more delicately enforced, it was the policy of the authors of this plan, and conſequently the uſual practice and courſe of buſineſs, that theſe *confidants ſuggeſted* the ſeveral meaſures which they thought proper to have purſued. Their ſuggeſtions being adopted, they were again ſuggeſted to the reſponſible miniſters; who, in this mode of tranſacting public buſineſs, were aſsured that they were to anſwer only in an *official* manner; that is, each man, in, and for, his own department *only*. This was ſuch a refinement of reſponſibility, as thoſe who had framed the ſafe-guards of the Conſtitution, at the time of the Revolution, had never conceived. In this mode of executing official duty, there ſeemed to be a reſponſibility, and yet there was none; for the crown being the executive power, the meaſures were decided and adopted, according to the opinion of the *ſecret adviſers*. It is ſcarcely poſſible for jealouſy itſelf, to imagine a pandemonium more dangerous than this. In approbation of this ſyſtem, and this practice, a number of perſons, who were favourites at Court, and who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the appellation of *King*'s *Friends*, promulgated, in language quite unreſerved, *That His Majeſty was always his own miniſter*. The beſt comment upon this text is, the diminution of the Britiſh empire, in conſequence of the war with America. It was to this ſyſtem

CHAP. XXXIX. 1779.

Minister, who had ever been so honoured. In a free conversation with one of his English visitors, (General *John Burgoyne*) he candidly informed him of one part of his plan against Great Britain, if the war had commenced, which he intended—It was—to have landed an army in Essex; to have proceeded with the utmost rapidity to London, where they were to have burned the Bank and the Tower, particularly the first; but to have committed no other depredation whatever, and then to have returned with the same expedition. The troops were to have had no other baggage or incumbrance, than their knapsacks. His principal object was, to annihilate the Public Credit of Great Britain, which he conceived the destruction of the Bank in London, would perfectly accomplish. It must be owned the scheme is feasible, and, perhaps not impracticable. There are always vessels enough at Calais and Dunkirk for such an expedition; and the vicinity of the garrisoned towns facilitates the assembling of an army, without creating an alarm. The anecdote

system that Lord Chatham alluded, in his speech on the second day of March, 1770, inserted in chapter 37.

may

CHAP. XXXIX. 1770. may ſerve to put future miniſters on their guard; for, at that time, we had no force in any ſituation, to impede the operation, had it been attempted.

On the twenty-ſeventh day of December, 1770, the King of Spain held a grand Council; the reſult of which was, nothing more than a repetition, in different words, of the ultimatum which Lord *Weymouth* had rejected. This reſult was ſent to Paris, to be firſt communicated to M. de *Choiſeul*, and then to be forwarded to London; but that Miniſter being diſmiſſed, the diſpatches came into the King's own hands, on the ſecond day of January 1771. The King read, and retained the diſpatches; and immediately ſent advice to the Catholic King, that he had been totally ignorant of the correſpondence, and deſign of his Miniſter; and that he was reſolved not to enter into the war: at the ſame time, offering his mediation in the preſervation of peace. The Catholic King in his anſwer, put himſelf entirely into the poſſeſſion of the King of France—he laid no reſtraint on his brother King, "but to preſerve his honour"—he referred the whole caſe to him. Information of all theſe

these circumſtances was regularly ſent to M. *Francois* at London. He, and not the Ambaſſador, was made the Confident. But, in conſequence of the Catholic King's reference to the King of France, full powers to treat, were ſent to the Count de *Guines* the French Miniſter at London, with an aſſurance, that further powers *would be ſent* to Prince *Maſſerano*. Theſe diſpatches arrived in London on the fourteenth day of January 1771. The Spaniſh Ambaſſador, however, refuſed to concur in any negotiation, declaring his reaſon to be, that as Mr. *Harris* was recalled, he could not negotiate upon any terms, expecting that his own recall would be the immediate conſequence. Five meſſengers were then ſent to Mr. *Harris*, by different ways, to order him back to Madrid*. CHAP. XXXIX. 1770.

* This explains Lord *Rochford*'s letter to Mr. *Harris*, which otherwiſe appears inexplicable.

St. James's, January 18, 1771,

SIR,

THE KING having reaſon, from the information he has received, to believe that Prince de *Maſſerano* has orders to make freſh propoſitions of ſatisfaction for the injury done to his Majeſty at Falkland's Iſlands, I am to ſignify to you his Majeſty's pleaſure that you return to the Court of Madrid, in order that you may be ready

CHAP. XXXIX. 1770.

While Lord *Rochford* was negotiating with Prince *Masserano*, Mr. *Stuart Mackenzie* was negotiating with Monf. *Francois*. At length, about an hour before the meeting of Parliament, on the twenty-fecond of January 1771, a declaration was figned by the Spanifh Ambaffador, under French orders and a French indemnification, for the reftitution of Falkland's Iflands to his Britannic Majefty; but the important condition, upon which this declaration was obtained, was not mentioned in the declaration. This condition was, That the Britifh forces fhould evacuate Falkland's Iflands as foon as convenient after they were put in poffeffion of Port and Fort Egmont. And the Britifh Miniftry engaged, as a pledge of their fin-

ready to hear any thing, which the Minifters of his Catholic Majefty may have in charge to fay to you, on the fame fubject, and to carry on the ufual intercourfe between the two Courts, in cafe the above-mentioned propofitions fhould prove fatisfactory, and *as in the prefent circumftances your appearance at Madrid is very material, it is his Majefty's pleafure, that you fhould not lofe any time in your journey, on account of private affairs or inconvenience*; and that you fhould remain there till his Majefty fhall think proper to fill your place by a Minifter of higher character.

I am, &c. ROCHFORD.

cerity

terity to keep that promiſe, that they would be the firſt to diſarm*. CHAP. XXXIX. 1770.

Two days after the Spaniſh Ambaſſador had ſigned the declaration, he received orders of recall; but his fate was like that of Mr. *Harris*, in a ſhort time afterwards he received orders to remain.

During the month of February 1771, the Spaniſh Miniſter at Madrid, hinted to Mr. *Harris*, the intention of the Spaniſh Court, to require of the Britiſh Miniſtry, *a perfection of engagements, as they were mutually underſtood*. Mr. *Harris*'s diſpatch, containing this hint, was received by the Miniſtry on the fourth of March. Three days afterwards, a Spaniſh meſſenger arrived, with orders to Prince *Maſſerano*, to make a poſitive demand of the ceſſion of Falkland's Iſlands, to the King of Spain. The

* Theſe facts are confirmed by Count de *Guines*, in his memorial againſt Meſſieurs *Tort*, *Roger* and *Depelch*, who had charged him with *gambling* in the Engliſh funds.

Colonel *Barre* declared in the Houſe of Commons, that Monſieur *Francois* realized upwards of half a million ſterling, by *gambling* in the Engliſh funds, during the period of this negotiation.

CHAP. XXXIX. 1770.

Spanish Ambassador first communicated his information of these orders to the French Ambassador, with a view of knowing if he would concur with him in making the demand. On the fourteenth they held a conference with Lord *Rochford* on the subject. His Lordship's answer was consonant to the spirit he had uniformly shewn. In consequence of this answer, messengers were sent to Paris and Madrid. The reply from France was civil, but mentioned the Family Compact. The answer from Spain did not reach London till the twentieth of April. —In the mean time, the Ministers held several conferences with Mr. *Stuart Mackenzie*—The result of the whole was, the English set the example to disarm; and Falkland's Islands were totally evacuated and abandoned in a short time afterwards; and have ever since been in the possession of the Spaniards.—The British armament cost the nation between three and four millions of money, besides the expence and inconvenience to individuals.

Double Cabinet.

It is impossible to quit this subject, without offering an observation upon the system of maintaining a DOUBLE CABINET at this time

time in the Britiſh Court; equally notorious, unconſtitutional, diſgraceful, and injurious, as well to the honour of the Crown, as to the intereſt of the country. CHAP. XXXIX. 1770.

No perſon will heſitate to ſay, that one of theſe cabinets was always under a *particular influence*. The whole ſeries of this chapter, as well as the long note in it, concerning the reſignation of Lord *Hawke*, and the ſubſequent explanation of the *Court-Syſtem* in the ſame note, indiſputably announce, that there was eſtabliſhed in the Britiſh Court, a ſyſtem of government, that can be explained only by the maſter-key of *ſecret influence*. And when we look over the names of thoſe, who have riſen, in a few years, from ſituations of indigence to thoſe of affluence and the peerage, (the *commis* of Lord *Bute* for example, as well as others) we are not to wonder at circumſtances, which, *prima faciæ*, are inexplicable; without the recollection of collateral events. Lord *Bute* gave upwards of one hundred thouſands for his eſtate in Bedfordſhire, very ſoon after the peace of 1763. See the extract from the eſſays of *Anti-Sejanus*, in a note in chapter xxii. A deſcription

CHAP. XXXIX. 1770. ſcription more explicit would be called a libel. To this bow-ſtring the truth of hiſtory is often ſacrificed.

CHAP. XL.

Lord Chatham renews the Diſcuſſion of the Middleſex Election—Attacks Lord Mansfield's doctrine of Libels—Interruption of the Duke of Mancheſter—Violent diſturbance made by the Court Party—The Minority ſecede—Motion reſpecting Gibraltar—The Spaniſh Declaration—Remarks by Lord Chatham—His Queſtions intended for the Judges—Lord Chatham's Speech on the Motion to reſcind the Reſolution concerning the Middleſex Election—Lord Chatham's Motion to addreſs the King to diſſolve the Parliament—His wiſh to go to America.

CHAP. XL.

Lord Chatham renews the diſcuſſion of the Middleſex Election.

ON the 28th of Nov. 1770, Lord *Chatham* moved, "That the capacity to be choſen a repreſentative of the Commons in Parliament, being under known reſtrictions and limitations of law, an original inherent right of the ſubject, may be cognizable by law, and is a matter wherein the juriſdiction of the Houſe of Commons (though unappealable as to the ſeat of their member)

member) is not final or conclusive." 'His Lordship was very dispassionate, clear, and strong; enlarging on all the points of the Middlesex election. He urged the necessity of dissolving the Parliament, as a measure that would give universal satisfaction. That as to the impropriety of the two Houses of Parliament quarrelling, it would be of no worse consequence than in 1704, and it is a point that ought to be settled: the liberty of the subject, the right of election, were invaded by an arbitrary vote of the other House, which, though only one branch of the legislature, had assumed the power of the whole. The people neither had, nor could have any confidence in a House of Commons which had committed so flagrant a violation of their dearest right. The present House Commons were become odious in the eye of the present age, and their memory would be detested by posterity. Their having substituted Col. *Luttrell* for Mr. *Wilkes*, he insisted, demanded the severest punishment—required a dissolution.

He attacks Ld. Mansfield's doctrine of Libels.

' Towards the end of his speech he made a digression, to introduce another grievance, which, he said, he was informed prevailed in

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in the courts of law, refpecting juries in the cafe of libels, and the judgment of the Court which followed. He conceived the direction of the Judge, not formerly, but lately given to juries, to be dangerous and unconftitutional, and the judgment of the court, in many cafes, to have been cruel and vindictive. The matter of libel—of public libel—was generally a *political* matter; and the queftion, whether a paper was a libel or not, was not a queftion of *law*, but a queftion of *politics*, in which Minifters indulged their paffion of revenge, and the courts of law became their inftruments of gratification. See Appendix T.

Lord *Mansfield*, after many compliments to Lord *Chatham*, maintained his doctrine refpecting libels.

Lord *Chatham* replied, 'that if he conceived the noble Lord on the woolfack right, his doctrine was, "That a libel, or not a libel, was a matter of law, and was to be decided by the Bench; and the queftion to be left to the jury to determine, was only the fact of printing and publifhing:" to which Lord *Mansfield* affented. His Lordfhip

ſhip then expreſſed his aſtoniſhment, declaring, 'that he had never underſtood that to be the law of England, and expreſſed his wiſh, "that a day might be appointed for an *enquiry* into the conduct " of the Judges who had advanced ſuch a doctrine." 'His Lordſhip obſerved, that in a late caſe, it was declared from the Bench, that if the verdict, inſtead of guilty of printing and publiſhing *only*, had been guilty of printing and publiſhing, without the word *only*, the officer of the court would have entered it on the record *guilty*.'

Lord *Chatham*'s obſervations on the courts of law, reſpecting libels, occaſioned Lord *Mansfield* to move, that the Houſe might be ſummoned on Monday the 11th of December. It was univerſally ſuppoſed that Lord *Mansfield* was reſolved to enter fully into the ſubject on that day; but when the time arrived, Lord *Mansfield* only told their Lordſhips that he had left a paper with the clerk for their peruſal. This brought up

'Lord *Chatham*, who ſaid, that the verdict of the jury, in the caſe to which the paper alluded, was "guilty of printing and publiſhing

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publishing *only*;" that two motions had been made in the court upon this verdict; one, in arrest of judgment, by the defendant, grounded upon the ambiguity of the verdict —the other by the counsel of the crown, to enter up the verdict according to the legal import. On both motions a rule to shew cause was granted, and in a short time after the matter was argued before the Court. The noble Judge, when he delivered the opinion of the Court upon the verdict, went regularly through the whole of the proceedings at *Nisi Prius*, as well the evidence that had been given as his own charge to the jury. This proceeding would have been very proper, had a motion been made from either side for a new trial; because either a verdict given contrary to *evidence*, or an improper charge by the Judge at *Nisi Prius*, is held to be a sufficient ground for granting a new trial: but when a motion is made in arrest of judgment, or for establishing the verdict by entering it up according to the *legal* import of the words, it must be on the ground of something appearing *on the record*; and the Court, in considering whether the verdict shall be established or not, are so confined to the record, that they cannot

take

take notice of any thing that does not appear on the face of it; to make use of the legal phrase, *they cannot travel out of the record*. The noble Judge did travel out of the record. I affirm, therefore, that his conduct was IRREGULAR, EXTRAJUDICIAL and UNPRECEDENTED; and I am sure there is not a lawyer in England that will contradict me. His real motive for doing what he knew to be wrong, was, that he might have an opportunity of telling the public *extrajudicially*, that the other three Judges agreed with him in the doctrine laid down in the charge.'

Lord *Camden* asked, if Lord *Mansfield* meant to have his paper entered upon the Journals. To which Lord *Mansfield* answered, *No! No! only to leave it with the Clerk.*

Interruption of the Duke of Manchester.

After this business was over, the Duke of *Manchester* rose. His Grace began with describing the state of the nation, and particularly the state of Gibraltar and Minorca; the former of which, he said, was utterly defenceless—Here his Grace was interrupted by Lord *Gower*, who desired that the House might

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might be cleared of all but thofe who had a right to fit there. There was a ftanding order of the Houfe, he faid, that none but Peers fhould come there.

Violent difturbance made by the Courtparty

The ftanding order of the Houfe was then read, when the Duke of *Richmond* got up, and defended what the Duke of *Manchefter* had faid, obferving, that though it was very true any Lord had a right to order the Houfe to be cleared, yet that their doing it now would alarm the people, who would immediately fuppofe they were *afraid* their proceedings fhould be known. Immediately a violent outcry arofe, and all became noife, clamour, and confufion. *Clear the Houfe! Clear the Houfe!* was echoed from fide to fide. The Lords *Denbigh* and *Marchmont* particularly diftinguifhed themfelves in pufhing out the Members of the Houfe of Commons, as well as ftrangers. The Duke of *Richmond* attempted to fpeak, but his voice was drowned in the clamour. Lord *Chatham*, fhocked at the indecency of fuch a proceeding, rofe, hoping that his age, his fervices, his character, would obtain attention; but thefe were not the charms to foothe that great affembly. Hands, voices, legs,

were

were all employed to prevent the noble Lord (whoſe ſeat in that Houſe was the reward of having ſaved the nation) from being heard at this moment. CHAP. XL. 1770.

Lord *Chatham* continued ſpeaking, without being heard, for ſome time. He ſent the Duke of *Richmond* to the Speaker (Lord *Mansfield*) to acquaint his Lordſhip that he wanted to ſpeak to the conſtruction of the ſtanding Order. But he could not be heard. The taſte was evidently for Lord *Denbigh*'s and Lord *Marchmont*'s eloquence. Lord *Chatham*, at length wearied out with inſult, declared, that if he was not to have the privilege of a Lord of Parliament, and to be allowed the exerciſe of free debate, it was needleſs and idle for him to attend Parliament. He left the Houſe; and about eighteen Lords had dignity enough to feel their own diſgrace in the inſult offered to him, and left the Houſe to its own madneſs. Minority ſecede.

No ſooner were theſe noble perſons retired, than, as if the deſign of the Miniſtry had been to tell the world, that the preſence of thoſe noble Lords was the only circumſtance that prevented their committing the most

CHAP. XL. 1770. moſt violent abſurdities, they loſt all diſcretion, and inſiſted on the Members of the Houſe of Commons being turned out in the crowd. Some of the Members of the Houſe of Commons repreſented that they were in the act of their duty, attending with a Bill; they were, however, forced to withdraw till the meſſage was delivered, and they then attended their Bill in a pretty large body. They had no ſooner delivered the Bill, than the outcry began again; time was not given them to ſee whether they would return of their own accord, but they were, in an unworthy, unprecedented manner, literally driven out of the Houſe.

Next day (December 12) the Duke of *Mancheſter* made the motion he was prevented making the day before, and which was, to deſire his Majeſty would be pleaſed to ſend a proper force to Gibraltar, and the iſlands of Minorca and Jamaica, for their neceſſary and ſufficient defence at this time. He ſhewed the naked ſtate of all our poſſeſſions abroad, and our defenceleſs ſtate at home; and all this was owing, he ſaid, to the incapacity and puſillanimity of the King's Miniſters, who were abhorred at home and deſpiſed abroad.

Lord

CHAP. XL. 1770. Lord Chatham.

'Lord *Chatham* confirmed this melancholy ſtate of our affairs; and added, that he had received intelligence of *a plan being formed to attack Gibraltar*.'

Lord *Sandwich* ſaid, there might be ſuch a plan; and what then? Gibraltar, he ſaid, was open to the ſea, and we could retake it, if we pleaſed; though, upon the whole, he did not think it was of much importance.

The motion was negatived.

Motion reſpecting the Spaniſh Declaration, 1771.

On the 25th day of January, 1771, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador's Declaration concerning Falkland's Iſlands being laid before Parliament, the Duke of *Mancheſter* moved, that the papers reſpecting the negotiation be alſo laid before the Houſe.

Lord *Rochford* moved an amendment, reſtraining the motion to the ſubject of Falkland Iſlands. Lord *Sandwich* moved another amendment, which, the Duke of *Richmond* ſaid, narrowed the motion. Lord *Sandwich* ſaid, his amendment, inſtead of narrowing, enlarged the motion; upon which,

Lord

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARA...

CHAP. XL.

1770.

Lord Chatham's remarks.

'Lord *Chatham* remarked, that this generosity, in giving more than was asked, was very suspicious; that if Administration had no objection to what was asked, why not give it without making any alteration in the motion? People would suspect that something was meant to be concealed. He said he would not go into the matter of the Declaration; but that, upon the face of it, it appeared an *ignominious compromise*. It was no satisfaction—no reparation. The *right* was not secured, and even the *restitution* was incomplete; that Port Egmont alone was restored, not Falkland's Islands.'

The amendments being negatived, the Duke of *Richmond* moved, That the letters which passed between the British and French Ministers on this subject be laid before the House.

Lord *Rochford* said he knew of none.

Lord *Chatham* supported the Duke of *Richmond's* motion. 'He said, their Lordships ought never to take the word of a minister; that the refusing this motion shewed that some *transaction* with France had

passed

paſſed, perhaps not *papers* or *memorials*. CHAP. XL. 1770.
As Lord *Rochford* ſaid none had paſſed, he believed him; but that France had *interfered*, he ſaid, he knew to be a fact that could not be denied.'

This motion was negatived.

On the 5th day of February, Lord *Chatham* moved, that the following queſtions be put to the Judges: Queſtions to the Judges.

"1ſt. Whether, in conſideration of law, the Imperial Crown of this realm can hold any territories, or poſſeſſions, thereunto belonging, otherwiſe than in ſovereignty.

"2dly. Whether the Declaration, or inſtrument for the reſtitution of the port and fort called Egmont, to be made by the Catholic King to his Majeſty, under a reſervation of diſputed right of ſovereignty expreſſed in the Declaration or inſtrument ſtipulating ſuch reſtitution, can be accepted or carried into execution, without derogating from the maxim of law before referred to, touching the inherent and eſſential dignity of the crown of Great Britain."

The motion was negatived.

 On

CHAP. XL. 1770.

On the 13th day of February, Lord *Chatham* ſpoke againſt a motion for an addreſs to the King on the Convention with Spain. But the Editor has not been informed that any notes of either of theſe ſpeeches were taken.

Motion to reſcind a reſolution.

On the 30th day of April, 1771, the Duke of *Richmond* made a motion to reſcind the reſolution of the Houſe reſpecting the Middleſex Election.

Lord Chatham.

' Lord *Chatham* ſupported this motion in the ſtrongeſt and warmeſt terms. He entered largely into the conſideration of the ſtate of the country; the depraved ſyſtem of government, which had, in a very few years, reduced us from a moſt flouriſhing to a moſt miſerable condition. He went through the whole proceedings of the Houſe of Commons in the late buſineſs of the Printers, and arraigned every part of it in the ſtrongeſt terms. He warmly defended the City Magiſtrates in the conſcientious diſcharge of their duty; that the Houſe, in committing them to the Tower, without hearing their defence upon the point of privilege, had been guilty of a groſs and palpable act of tyranny; that

that they had heard the proſtituted electors of Shoreham in defence of an agreement to ſell a borough by auction, and had refuſed to hear the Lord Mayor of London in defence of the laws of England; that their expunging, by force, the entry of a recognizance, was the act of a *mob*, not of a Parliament; that their daring to aſſume a power of ſtopping all proſecutions by their vote, ſtruck at once at the whole ſyſtem of the laws: that it was ſolely to the meaſures of government, equally violent and abſurd, that Mr. *Wilkes* owed all his importance; that the King's Miniſters, ſupported by the ſlaviſh concurrence of the Houſe of Commons, had made him a perſon of the greateſt conſequence in the kingdom; that they had made him an Alderman of the city of London, and Repreſentative of the county of Middleſex; and now they will make him Sheriff, and, in due courſe, Lord Mayor of London; that the proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, in regard to this gentleman made the very name of Parliament ridiculous; that after repeated reſolutions, by which they had declared him amenable to their juriſdiction, they had ſhamefully abandoned the point at laſt; and, in the face of the world, ac-

 knowledged

CHAP. XL. 1771.

knowledged him to be their maſter. That there remained but one poſſible remedy for the diſorder, with which the Government of this country was notoriouſly infected; that to ſave the name and inſtitution of Parliaments from contempt, this Houſe of Commons muſt be diſſolved. This, he hoped, might reſtore good government on one ſide —good humour and tranquillity on the other; yet that this was rather a hope in him than any ſanguine expectation. He feared that it might prove only a temporary and partial remedy; that to reſiſt the enormous influenc of the Crown, ſome ſtronger barriers muſt be erected in defence of the conſtitution. That formerly the inconveniencies of ſhortening the duration of Parliaments had great weight with him; but now it was no longer a queſtion of convenience; the *Summa Rerum* is at ſtake; your whole conſtitution is giving way; and, therefore, with the moſt deliberate and ſolemn conviction of his underſtanding, he now declared himſelf a *Convert to Triennial Parliaments*. His Lordſhip concluded with deſiring that the Houſe might be ſummoned for next day, declaring his intention to move an Addreſs for the

diſſolution

dissolution of the present Parliament.'—The motion was negatived. CHAP. XL. 1771.

Accordingly, on Wednesday the first of May, which was next day, his Lordship moved, "That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, most dutifully and earnestly beseeching his Majesty, that under the late violations of the rights of the Electors of Great Britain, in the election for Middlesex, still unredressed, and in the present conflict which has so unhappily arisen between the claims of the House of Commons on one side, and those of the people on the other, his Majesty will, in his paternal wisdom, deign to open the way to compose this alarming warfare; and that, in order to prevent the said House, and the Nation, from being involved in intemperate discussions of undefined powers, which in the extreme may endanger the constitution, and tend to shake the tranquillity of the kingdom, his Majesty will be graciously pleased to recur to the recent sense of his people, by dissolving, after the end of this session, the present Parliament, and calling with convenient dispatch, a new Parliament.'

Lord Chatham's motion for an address to the King to dissolve the Parliament.

 He

CHAP. XL. 1771.

He went through all the arguments which had been formerly uſed on this ſubject; and towards the concluſion of his ſpeech, he ſaid, 'that though no man prided himſelf more on his attachment to his native country, yet the proceedings of thoſe people who called themſelves its governors, had rendered it ſo diſagreeable to him, that was he but ten years younger, he would ſpend the remainder of his days in a country (meaning America) which had already given the moſt brilliant proofs of its independent ſpirit; nor ſhould my advanced age (continued he) even *now* prevent me, did not conſiderations of the laſt conſequence (my bodily infirmities) interfere.'—The motion was negatived.

His wiſh to go to America.

The ſeſſion ended on the 8th of May, 1771.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLI.

Two interesting Anecdotes of the origin of the American War—Impositions upon the People of England—Lord Chatham's Speech against quartering Troops in America—His Speech against the Quebec Bill.

DURING the two succeeding sessions Lord *Chatham* did not attend Parliament. Recent experience had convinced him, that his eloquence, his sagacity, his character, were of no estimation, in an assembly, where arguments more *tangible* than words, had made so deep an impression upon the majority, that no language, no sense of honour or of danger, had power to awaken them to a just conception of their own disgrace and insignificancy. CHAP. XLI. 1772. 1773.

In the year 1774, the affairs of America brought him forward again. Nothing else could. He resolved to make every attempt he was able, to avert the destruction, which he saw was inseparably attached to the measures the Ministry were pursuing. 1774.

CHAP. XLI.

1774.

Two interesting anecdotes of the American war.

The Hiſtory of the riſe and progreſs of the American war, has been given in ſeveral books. But there are two Facts, reſpecting its origin, which ſeem to have eſcaped the obſervation their importance deſerves.

Anecdote the firſt.

The firſt is reſpecting the Eaſt India Company.—When the duties to be paid in America on paper, paint, and glaſs, were repealed, it was pretended, that the Tea duty (which had been impoſed by the ſame Act of Parliament) was left ſtanding, to *ſerve* the Company. But this was not the fact. The tax was left unrepealed to preſerve the *right*, as it was called, to tax the Colonies. That was the *true* motive. The *ſervice* of the Eaſt India Company made no part of the conſideration. The tea ſent to Boſton was that ſort called *Bohea*, which was conferring no favour on the Company, but the reverſe; for that ſort of tea was no burden to the Company. It was the ſort called *Singlo*, which lay heavy on their hands, and of which all their warehouſes were full. But the reſolution was agreed to in a *private* Committee, when only *three* perſons were preſent: Mr. *Bolton* was chairman. A matter of ſuch importance ought to have been agitated

agitated in a full Committee, which consists of eleven. The truth is, the Bohea was more saleable than the Singlo; it was therefore, the resolution of the Cabinet to send the most saleable: presuming that the temptation to purchase being greater by the offer of good tea, than by the offer of an inferior sort, some of the Americans might be thereby induced to barter liberty for luxury, and, perhaps, a schism might be created among them. Had the question of determining the kind of tea to be sent to America, been agitated in a full Committee, it is more than probable, that the interests of the Company would have prevailed over the views of the cabinet at St. James's. When the Directors were informed of the conduct of the Committee, they explained this distinction of the tea to the Ministry, and wished to have the Singlo substituted. But the Ministry would not consent. It was again objected to, at the Minister's house. To the last application, Lord *North*, being perhaps wearied with representations on the subject, said—"*It was to no purpose making objections, for the —— would have it so.*" These were his Lordship's words: and he added, "*That*

CHAP. XLI. 1774.

"*That the* —— *meant to* try the queſtion *with America**."

The

* The Author of *Hiſtorical Remarks on the Taxation of Free States*, formerly a reſpectable Member of Parliament*, written in the year 1778, relates an anecdote of Engliſh taxation, which, as the book is in few hands, it may not be improper to inſert here. [The author printed only fifty copies.]

"It was told me, ſays the Author, by an intelligent and moſt reſpectable Member of the laſt Parliament (Mr. *White*, of Retford). That worthy old gentleman lived in friendſhip with Sir *Robert Walpole*, and I believe is the only man of that deſcription, who never took an emolument from the *Miniſter*. He gave me this account of his giving up the Exciſe-ſcheme. The bill, having been oppoſed in every ſtage, was ordered to be reported. The queſtion for its being reported, was carried by a majority of ſixty. The nation was in a ferment, and there had been ſome dangerous riots.

"On the evening before the report, Sir *Robert* ſummoned a meeting of the principal Members, who had ſupported the Bill. It was very largely attended. He reſerved his own opinion to the laſt: But perſeverance was the unanimous voice. It was ſaid all taxes were obnoxious, and there would be an end of ſupplies, if mobs were to controul the Legiſlature in the manner of raiſing them. When Sir *Robert* had heard them all, he aſſured them, "How conſcious he was of having meant well; but in the preſent inflamed temper of the people, the act could not be carried into execution without an armed force. That there would be an end of the liberty of England, if ſupplies were to be raiſed by the ſword. If, therefore, the reſolution was, to go on with the Bill, he would immediately wait upon the King and deſire his Majeſty's permiſſion to reſign his office; for he would not be the Miniſter to enforce taxes, at the expence of blood."

* For Liverpool.

"No

The other anecdote is refpecting the proceedings at Bofton.—The tea was configned to the Governor's fon at Bofton. When the veffels with the tea arrived there, the people affembled on the wharfs in great multitudes, in order to prevent the tea being landed. Several merchants, and other perfons of the firft confequence in Bofton, folemnly affured Captains of the veffels, that the inhabitants of the town were unanimoufly refolved not to fuffer the tea to be landed. The Captains finding this oppofition, folicited the Governor's permiffion to return to England; for the King's fhips were ftationed in fuch a pofition at the mouth of the harbour, that no veffel could efcape their vigi-

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1774.

" No perfon appearing defirous of taking that office upon himfelf, Sir *Robert* gave notice, that he would adjourn the report for fix months: which he did the next day.

" Tyranny is known, not by the foil, but by the fruits. And the hardeft flaveries have been fuffered in thofe ftates, where the forms of a free conftitution remain; but where a fpirit of juftice, liberty and virtue exifts no more." p.p. 80 and 81.

And in another place, he tranflates thefe words from Ariftotle*, " Tyrants, therefore, love to be ferved by the worft of men; they delight in fervility; and their meafures require an implicit obedience, to which men of liberal fpirit cannot ftoop."

* Polit. l. 5 3 120.

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MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SA

CHAP. XLI. 1774.

lance. The Governor anſwered, that he could not permit them to depart, until they had obtained proper clearances. The officers of the Cuſtoms refuſed to grant clearances until their cargoes were landed. This legal preciſion was not obſerved at the other ports in America, where the Captains finding they could not land their cargoes of tea, were permitted to return to Europe, without breaking bulk. But Boſton ſeems to have been the place fixed upon *to try the queſtion.* If the Governor had aſſiſted the Captains, the tea might have been landed without much difficulty: it might have been put into the barges of the men of war, then lying there, and being eſcorted by the marines, it might have been ſafely lodged in the King's warehouſes. But the deſign was otherwiſe. The Captains were obliged to connive at the deſtruction of the tea, in order to obtain their clearances, to return to England. The town was afterwards puniſhed for this act of neceſſity, which might have been avoided. Thus the civil war was *created*—to try the queſtion *" And the

* Nothing can more ſtrongly ſhew the fixed reſolution of the Court on this point than the words of his Majeſty's anſwers, to the

the Governor (*Hutchinson*) was afterwards rewarded with a large penſion.—There were many other provocations given to the Americans, beſides the Tea Act; all uniformly tending to exaſperate them to reſiſtance. CHAP. XL. 1770.

Upon this occaſion the Miniſtry reſorted to the ſame methods to deceive the nation, which had been ſo ſucceſsfully practiſed by their predeceſſors, and during the Adminiſtration of the Earl of *Bute*; viz. *Hiring a number of writers, hiring a number of newſpapers, and printing an immenſe number of pamphlets*, which were ſent free of poſtage and expence, to every part of the kingdom. At the ſame time, all thoſe writers and printers, who preſumed to arraign the conduct of Miniſters, were proſecuted in the Court of King's Bench. Addreſſes, highly flattering to Miniſters in their conteſt with America, were procured from every venal borough and town. By the hired pens of Dr. S. *Johnſon*, Meſſrs. *Dalrymple*, *Macpherſon*, *Stewart*, *Lind*, *Knox*, *Nauduit*, &c. and other artifices, the nation was again Impoſitions upon the people of England

the many petitions which were preſented to him, beſeeching and imploring him, repeatedly, to preſerve his dominions. The reader will find them in the Appendix, Z.

deluded

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deluded and duped. Upon this particular ſubject, to impoſe on the people, and reconcile them to this war of felony and ſuicide, Miniſters had the aſſiſtance of another deſcription of men, who were not leſs zealous, and, if poſſible, more dangerous. Theſe were the American refugees—who were driven out of their own country, becauſe they were traitors to it. Theſe unceaſingly practiced the moſt diabolical impoſitions, through the channels of all the miniſterial newſpapers; and by pamphlets, arraigning the conduct of the Britiſh officers, in the baſeſt terms; and poſſeſſing a geographical knowledge of the country, they were enabled to give a ſpecious appearance of veracity, to the moſt infamous falſhoods. It is neceſſary to mention theſe impoſitions, for although every material circumſtance relating to this conteſt, has been publiſhed in ſome ſhape or other, yet it will require a nice diſcriminating eye, and a correct judgment, to diſtinguiſh, on many points, the true from the falſe, repreſentation—ſo artful and plauſible, ſometimes is the laſt.

Ld. Chatham's Speech againſt quartering Troops in America.

On the 27th day of May 1774, Lord *Chatham* attended the Houſe of Lords, on the

the third reading of a bill for quartering soldiers in America. He said—'My Lords, the unfavourable state of health under which I have long laboured, could not prevent me from laying before your Lordships my thoughts on the bill now upon the table, and on the American affairs in general.

'If we take a transient view of those motives which induced the ancestors of our fellow-subjects in America to leave their native country, to encounter the innumerable difficulties of the unexplored regions of the western world, our astonishment at the present conduct of their descendants will naturally subside. There was no corner of the world into which men of their free and enterprising spirit would not fly with alacrity, rather than submit to the slavish and tyrannical principles, which prevailed at that period in their native country. And shall we wonder, my Lords, if the descendants of such illustrious characters spurn, with contempt, the hand of unconstitutional power, that would snatch from them such dear-bought privileges as they now contend for? Had the British Colonies been planted by any other kingdom than our own, the inhabitants

CHAP. XLI. 1774. bitants would have carried with them the chains of ſlavery, and ſpirit of deſpotiſm; but as they are, they ought to be remembered as great inſtances to inſtruct the world, what great exertions mankind will naturally make, when they are left to the free exerciſe of their own powers. And, my Lords, notwithſtanding my intention to give my hearty negative to the queſtion now before you, I cannot help condemning, in the ſevereſt manner, the late turbulent and unwarrantable conduct of the Americans in ſome inſtances, particularly in the late riots of Boſton. But, my Lords, the mode which has been purſued to bring them back to a ſenſe of their duty to their parent ſtate, has been ſo diametrically oppoſite to the fundamental principles of ſound policy, that individuals, poſſeſſed of common underſtanding, muſt be aſtoniſhed at ſuch proceedings. By blocking up the harbour of Boſton, you have involved the innocent trader in the ſame puniſhment with the guilty profligates who deſtroyed your merchandize; and inſtead of making a well concerted effort to ſecure the real offenders, you clap a naval and military extinguiſher over their harbour, and puniſh the crime of

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a few lawleſs depredators and their abettors, upon the whole body of the inhabitants. CHAP. XLI. 1774.

'My Lords, this country is little obliged to the framers and promoters of this tea-tax. The Americans had almoſt forgot, in their exceſs of gratitude for the repeal of the ſtamp act, any intereſt but that of the mother country; there ſeemed an emulation among the different provinces, who ſhould be moſt dutiful and forward in their expreſſions of loyalty to their real benefactor; as you will readily perceive by the following letter from Governor *Bernard* to a noble Lord then in office.

"The Houſe of Repreſentatives, (ſays he) from the time of opening the ſeſſion to this day, has ſhewn a diſpoſition to avoid all diſpute with me; every thing having paſſed with as much good humour as I could deſire. They have acted, in all things, with temper and moderation; they have avoided ſome ſubjects of diſpute, and have laid a foundation for removing ſome cauſes of former altercation.

CHAP. XLI. 1774.

'This, my Lords, was the temper of the Americans; and would have continued ſo, had it not been interrupted by your fruitleſs endeavours to tax them without their conſent: but the moment they perceived your intention was renewed to tax them, under a pretence of ſerving the Eaſt India Company, their reſentment got the aſcendant of their moderation, and hurried them into actions contrary to law, which, in their cooler hours, they would have thought on with horror; for I ſincerely believe, the deſtroying of the tea was the effect of deſpair.

'But, my Lords, from the complexion of the whole of the proceedings, I think that Adminiſtration has purpoſely irritated them into thoſe late violent acts, for which they now ſo ſeverely ſmart; purpoſely to be revenged on them for the victory they gained by the repeal of the ſtamp act; a meaſure to which they ſeemingly acquieſced, but at the bottom they were its real enemies. For what other motive could induce them to dreſs taxation, that father of American ſedition, in the robes of an Eaſt India Director, but to break in upon that mutual peace

peace and harmony, which then so happily subsisted between them and the mother country. CHAP. XLI. 1774.

'My Lords, I am an old man, and would advise the noble Lords in office to adopt a more gentle mode of governing America; for the day is not far distant, when America may vie with these kingdoms, not only in arms, but in arts also. It is an established fact, that the principal towns in America are learned and polite, and understand the constitution of the empire as well as the noble Lords who are now in office; and consequently, they will have a watchful eye over their liberties, to prevent the least encroachment on their hereditary rights.

'This observation is so recently exemplified in an excellent pamphlet, which comes from the pen of an American gentleman, that I shall take the liberty of reading to your Lordships his thoughts on the competency of the British Parliament to tax America, which, in my opinion, puts this interesting matter in the clearest view.

CHAP. XLI. 1774.

"The High Court of Parliament (ſays he) is the ſupreme legiſlative power over the whole empire; in all free ſtates the conſtitution is fixed; and as the ſupreme legiſlature derives its power and authority from the conſtitution, it cannot overleap the bounds of it, without deſtroying its own foundation. The conſtitution aſcertains and limits both ſovereignty and allegiance: and therefore his Majeſty's American ſubjects, who acknowledge themſelves bound by the ties of allegiance, have an equitable claim to the full enjoyment of the fundamental rules of the Engliſh conſtitution; and that it is an eſſential unalterable right in nature, ingrafted into the Britiſh conſtitution as a fundamental law, and ever held ſacred and irrevocable by the ſubjects within this realm—that what a man has honeſtly acquired, is abſolutely his own; which he may freely give, but which cannot be taken from him without his conſent."

'This, my Lords, though no new doctrine, has always been my received and unalterable opinion, and I will carry it to my grave, *that this country had no right under heaven to tax America.* It is contrary to all the

the principles of juſtice and civil polity, which neither the exigencies of the ſtate, nor even an acquieſcence in the taxes, could juſtify upon any occaſion whatever. Such proceedings will never meet their wiſhed-for ſucceſs; and, inſtead of adding to their miſeries, as the bill now before you moſt undoubtedly does, adopt ſome lenient meaſures, which may lure them to their duty; proceed like a kind and affectionate parent over a child whom he tenderly loves; and, inſtead of thoſe harſh and ſevere proceedings, paſs an amneſty on all their youthful errors; claſp them once more in your fond and affectionate arms; and I will venture to affirm you will find them children worthy of their ſire. But ſhould their turbulence exiſt after your proferred terms of forgiveneſs, which I hope and expect this houſe will immediately adopt, I will be among the foremoſt of your Lordſhips to move for ſuch meaſures as will effectually prevent a future relapſe, and make them feel what it is to provoke a fond and forgiving parent! a parent, my Lords, whoſe welfare has ever been my greateſt and moſt pleaſing conſolation. This declaration may ſeem unneceſſary; but I will venture to declare, the period is

CHAP. XLI. 1774. is not far diſtant, when ſhe will want the aſſiſtance of her moſt diſtant friends: but ſhould the all-diſpoſing hand of Providence prevent me from affording her my poor aſ-ſiſtance, my prayers ſhall be ever for her welfare—*Length of days be in her right hand, and in her left riches and honour; may her ways be the ways of pleaſantneſs, and all her paths be peace!*

The bill paſſed.

Lord *Chatham* alſo attended on the ſeven-teenth day of June 1774, on the reading of the Quebec Bill, which he likewiſe oppoſed.

His ſpeech againſt the Quebec Bill.

'He ſaid, it would involve a large pro-vince in a thouſand difficulties, and in the worſt of deſpotiſm, and put the whole peo-ple under arbitrary power; that it was a moſt cruel, oppreſſive, and odious meaſure, tearing up juſtice and every good principle by the roots; that by aboliſhing the trial by Jury, together with the Habeas Corpus, he ſuppoſed the framers of the bill thought that mode of proceeding moſt ſatisfactory; whilſt every true Engliſhman was ready to

lay

CHAP. XLI. 1774.

ay down his life fooner than lofe thofe two bulwarks of his perfonal fecurity and property. The merely fuppofing that the Canadians would not be able to feel the good effects of law and freedom, becaufe they had been ufed to arbitrary power, was an idea as ridiculous as falfe. He faid, the bill eftablifhed a defpotic government in that country, to which the royal proclamation of 1763 promifed the protection of the Englifh laws. Here the noble Lord read part of the proclamation; and then entered into the power vefted in the Governor and Council; the whole mode of which, he faid, was tyrannical and defpotic. He was particularly fevere on the bad confequences that would attend the great extenfion of that province. The whole of the bill appeared to him to be deftructive of that liberty, which ought to be the ground-work of every conftitution. Ten thoufand objections, he was confident, might be made to the bill; but the extinction of the mode of trial above mentioned was a very alarming circumftance, and he would pronounce him a bold man who propofed fuch a plan.

CHAP. XLI. 1774.

'When his Lordſhip came to the religious part of the bill, he directed his diſcourſe to the Bench of Biſhops, telling them, that as by the bill the Catholic religion was made the eſtabliſhed religion of that vaſt continent, it was impoſſible they could be ſilent on the occaſion. He called the bill a child of inordinate power, and deſired and aſked if any of that Reverend Bench would hold it out for baptiſm. He touched again on the unlimited power of the Governor in appointing all the members, and who might conſiſt of Roman Catholics only.

'He alſo took notice of an amendment which had been made in the Houſe of Commons, which was a new clauſe, repealing ſo much of the Act of Reformation of the 1ſt of Elizabeth as relates to the Oath of Supremacy, and ſubſtituting a common oath of allegiance in its place. This act of Elizabeth, he ſaid, had always been looked upon as one that the legiſlature had no more right to repeal, than the Great Charter, or the Bill of Rights'—But in this he was greatly miſtaken; for though ſeveral of the Reverend Bench were preſent, not one of them

them made the ſmalleſt objection to the clauſe—they all divided with the Miniſtry. CHAP. XLI. 1774.

The Duke of *Glouceſter* divided with Lord *Chatham* againſt the Bill, but they were in a minority.

The ſeſſion ended on the twenty-ſecond day of June, and on the laſt day of September the Parliament was ſuddenly diſſolved*.

CHAP. XLII.

Lord Chatham's motion to withdraw the Troops from Boſton—His Bill for quieting the troubles in America—His Bill rejected—Receives the Thanks of the City of London for his Bill.

ON the 29th day of November, 1774, the new Parliament met. On the 20th day of January, 1775, Lord *Dartmouth*, then Secretary of State, &c. produced the official American papers. CHAP. XLII. 1775.

* During the ſummer, Lord *Mansfield* went to Paris. At this time the Court of Great Britain may be ſaid to have had *three* ambaſſadors at the Court of France—Lord *Stormont*, the official; Mr. *Forth*, the confidential; and Lord *Mansfield*, the efficient.

The

CHAP. XLII. 1775.

The Earl of *Chatham*, after ſtrongly condemning the dilatorineſs of Adminiſtration, &c. proceeded as follows:

Lord Chatham's motion to withdraw the troops from Boſton.

——'* But as I have not the honour of acceſs to his Majeſty, I will endeavour to tranſmit to him, through the Conſtitutional channel of this Houſe, my ideas of America, to reſcue him from the miſadvice of his preſent Miniſters. I congratulate your Lordſhips, that the buſineſs is *at laſt* entered upon by the noble Lord's † laying the papers, before you. As I ſuppoſe your Lordſhips too well apprized of their contents, I hope I am not premature, in ſubmitting to you my preſent motion:

"That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, humbly to deſire and beſeech his Majeſty, that in order to open the way towards a happy ſettlement of the dangerous troubles in America, by beginning to allay ferments and ſoften animoſities there; and above all, for preventing in the mean time any ſud-

* This ſpeech, and that of the 18th of November, 1777, were taken by the ſame gentleman; and it has been affirmed by ſeveral perſons who heard the noble Lord on both days, that they contain very ſtrong and peculiar marks of accuracy.

† Lord *Dartmouth*.

den

den and fatal cataſtrophe at Boſton, now ſuffering under the daily irritation of an army before our eyes, poſted in their town; it may graciouſly pleaſe his Majeſty that immediate orders be diſpatched to General *Gage*, for removing his Majeſty's forces from the town of Boſton, as ſoon as the rigour of the ſeaſon, and other circumſtances indiſpenſable to the ſafety and accommodation of the ſaid troops, may render the ſame practicable."

'I wiſh, my Lords, not to loſe a day in this urgent, preſſing criſis; an hour now loſt in allaying ferments in America, may produce years of calamity: for my own part, I will not deſert, for a moment, the conduct of this weighty buſineſs, from the firſt to the laſt; unleſs nailed to my bed by the extremity of ſickneſs, I will give it unremitted attention; I will knock at the door of this ſleeping and confounded Miniſtry, and will rouſe them to a ſenſe of their important danger.

'When I ſtate the importance of the Colonies to this country, and the magnitude of danger hanging over this country, from the preſent plan of miſ-adminiſtration practiſed

CHAP. XLII. 1775.

tised against them, I desire not to be understood to argue for a reciprocity of indulgence between England and America, I contend not for indulgence, but justice to America; and I shall ever contend, that the Americans justly owe obedience to us in a limited degree—they owe obedience to our ordinances of trade and navigation; but let the line be skilfully drawn between the objects of those ordinances, and their private, internal property; let the sacredness of their property remain inviolate; let it be taxable only by their own consent, given in their provincial assemblies, else *it will cease to be property*. As to the metaphysical refinements, attempting to shew that the Americans are equally free from obedience and commercial restraints, as from taxation for revenue, as being unrepresented here, I pronounce them futile, frivolous, and groundless.

'When I urge this measure of recalling the troops from Boston, I urge it on this pressing principle, that it is necessarily preparatory to the restoration of your peace, and the establishment of your prosperity. It will then appear that you are disposed to treat amicably and equitably; and to consi-

der,

der, revise, and repeal, if it should be found necessary, as I affirm it will, those violent acts and declarations which have dissemina-ted confusion throughout your empire. CHAP. XLII. 1775.

'Resistance to your acts was necessary as it was just; and your vain declarations of the omnipotence of Parliament, and your imperious doctrines of the necessity of submission, will be found equally impotent to convince, or to enslave your fellow-subjects in America, who feel that tyranny, whether *ambitioned* by an individual part of the legislature, or the * bodies who compose it, is equally intolerable to British subjects.

'The means of enforcing this thraldom are found to be as ridiculous and weak in practice, as they are unjust in principle. Indeed

* A favourite idea prevailed, and was often urged in argument by Administration, "that absolute passive obedience is due to all "acts of the legislature, which must not *in any case whatever*, be "questioned, much less resisted by the people." Mr. *Locke* thought otherwise. But, in truth, it is a point rather of *practical* policy. If, however, the postulatum were admitted in *speculation*, the inference will not reach from Westminster to Boston. It never was proved, that our *Lords Spiritual* and *Temporal* had *privilege* in America; and that *our* Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, were *their* Representatives.

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deed I cannot but feel the most anxious sensibility for the situation of General *Gage*, and the troops under his command; thinking him, as I do, a man of humanity and understanding; and entertaining as I ever will, the highest respect, the warmest love, for the British troops. Their situation is truly unworthy; penn'd up—pining in inglorious inactivity. They are an army of impotence. You may call them an army of safety and of guard; but they are in truth an army of impotence and contempt: and, to make the folly equal to the disgrace, they are an army of irritation and vexation.

'But I find a report *creeping* abroad, that Ministers censure General *Gage*'s inactivity: let *them* censure him—it becomes them—it becomes their *justice* and their *honour*.—I mean not to censure his inactivity; it is a prudent and necessary inaction: but it is a miserable condition, where disgrace is prudence, and where it is necessary to be contemptible. This tameness, however contemptible, cannot be censured; for the first drop of blood shed in civil and unnatural war might be *immedicabile vulnus*.

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SA...

'I therefore

'I therefore urge and conjure your Lordſhips, immediately to adopt this conciliating meaſure. I will pledge myſelf for its immediately producing conciliatory effects, by its being thus well-timed: but if you delay till your vain hope ſhall be accompliſhed, of triumphantly dictating reconciliation, you delay for ever. But, admitting that this hope, which in truth is deſperate, ſhould be accompliſhed, what do you gain by the impoſition of your victorious amity?—you will be untruſted and unthanked. Adopt, then, the grace, while you have the opportunity of reconcilement; or at leaſt prepare the way.—Allay the ferment prevailing in America, by removing the obnoxious hoſtile cauſe—obnoxious and unſerviceable; for their merit can be only inaction: "*Non dimicare et vincere,*"—their victory can never be by exertions. Their force would be moſt diſproportionately exerted againſt a brave, generous, and united people, with arms in their hands, and courage in their hearts:—three millions of people, the genuine deſcendants of a valiant and pious anceſtry, driven to thoſe deſerts by the narrow maxims of a ſuperſtitious tyranny.—And is the ſpirit of perſecution never to be appeaſed?

Are

CHAP. XLII. 1775.

Are the brave ſons of thoſe brave forefathers to inherit their ſufferings, as they have inherited their virtues? Are they to ſuſtain the infliction of the moſt oppreſſive and unexampled ſeverity, beyond the accounts of hiſtory, or deſcription of poetry: "*Rhadamanthus habet duriſſima regna, caſtigat que,* AUDIT QUE." So ſays the wiſeſt poet, and perhaps the wiſeſt ſtateſman and politician.—But our Miniſters ſay, *the Americans muſt not be heard.* They have been condemned *unheard.*—The indiſcriminate hand of vengeance has lumped together innocent and guilty; with all the formalities of hoſtility, has blocked up the town * and reduced to beggary and famine thirty thouſand inhabitants.

'But his Majeſty is adviſed, that the union in America cannot laſt. Miniſters have more eyes than I, and ſhould have more ears; but with all the information I have been able to procure, I can pronounce it—an union, ſolid, permament, and effectual. Miniſters may ſatisfy themſelves, and delude the public, with the report of what they call commercial bodies in America. They are *not* commercial; they are your packers and

* Boſton.

factors;

CHAP. XLII. 1775.

factors: they live upon nothing—for I call commiſſion nothing. I mean the miniſterial *authority* for this American intelligence; the runners for government, who are paid for their intelligence. But theſe are not the men, nor this the influence, to be conſidered in America, when we eſtimate the firmneſs of their union. Even to extend the queſtion, and to take in the really mercantile circle, will be totally inadequate to the conſideration. Trade indeed increaſes the wealth and glory of a country; but its real ſtrength and ſtamina are to be looked for among the cultivators of the land: in their ſimplicity of life is found the ſimpleneſs of virtue—the integrity and courage of freedom. Theſe true genuine ſons of the earth are invincible: and they ſurround and hem in the mercantile bodies; even if theſe bodies, which ſuppoſition I totally diſclaim, could be ſuppoſed diſaffected to the cauſe of liberty. Of this general ſpirit exiſting in the Britiſh nation; (for ſo I wiſh to diſtinguiſh the real and genuine Americans from the pſeudo-traders I have deſcribed)—of this ſpirit of independance*, animating, the *nation* of America, I

* *(i. e.)* of *legal liberty*;—the *independance* of freemen, contra-diſtinguiſhed to the *dependent* ſtate of ſlaves. It was thought neceſſary

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have the most authentic information. It is not new among them; it is, and has ever been, their established principle, their confirmed persuasion: it is their nature, and their doctrine.

'I remember some years ago, when the repeal of the stamp act was in agitation, conversing in a friendly confidence with a person of undoubted respect and authenticity, on that subject; and he assured me with a certainty which his judgment and opportunity gave him, that these were the prevalent and steady principles of America—That you might destroy their towns, and cut them off from the superfluities, perhaps the conveniences of life; but that they were prepared to despise your power, and would not lament their loss, whilst they have—what, my Lords?—their *woods* and their *liberty*. The name of my authority, if I am

necessary to specify this idea, lest Lord *Chatham* should have been misconceived to have imputed to America an original *wish of disconnexion* from this country. On the contrary, when that fatal event did occur, his Lordship attributed it to a very different cause from the *inclination* of America.—That state of independency into which *your measures hitherto* have *driven* her."—*See his Lordship's Speech, on the 18th of Nov.* 1777.

called

called upon, will authenticate the opinion irrefragably *.

'If illegal violences have been, as it is ſaid, committed in America; prepare the way, open the door of poſſibility, for acknowledgment and ſatisfaction: but proceed not to ſuch coercion, ſuch proſcription; ceaſe your indiſcriminate inflictions; amerce not thirty thouſand; oppreſs not three millions, for the fault of forty or fifty individuals. Such ſeverity of injuſtice muſt for ever render incurable the wounds you have already given your colonies; you irritate them to unappeaſable rancour. What though you march from town to town, and from province to province; though you ſhould be able to enforce a temporary and local ſubmiſſion, which I only ſuppoſe, not admit—how ſhall you be able to ſecure the obedience of the country you leave behind you in your progreſs, to graſp the dominion of eighteen hundred miles of continent, populous in numbers, poſſeſſing valour, liberty and reſiſtance?

* It was Dr. *Franklin*.

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'This reſiſtance to your arbitrary ſyſtem of taxation might have been foreſeen: it was obvious from the nature of things, and of mankind; and above all, from the Whiggiſh ſpirit flouriſhing in that country. The ſpirit which now reſiſts your taxation in America, is the * ſame which formerly oppoſed loans, benevolences, and ſhip-money, in England: the ſame ſpirit which called all England *on its legs*, and by the Bill of Rights vindicated the Engliſh conſtitution: the ſame ſpirit which eſtabliſhed the great, fundamental, eſſential maxim of your liberties, *that no ſubject of England ſhall be taxed but by his own conſent.*

'This glorious ſpirit of Whiggiſm animates three millions in America; who prefer poverty with liberty, to gilded chains and ſordid affluence; and who will die in defence of their rights as men, as freemen.

* Not ſo, according to the political logic of Adminiſtration; which would prove the *Toryiſm* of "this American ſpirit." In the debate for an addreſs, on the firſt day of the ſeſſion, Oct. 26, 1775, Mr. *Fox* urged, with his uſual ability, what he conceived to be Whig principles; principles conſulting the good of the *governed*, rather than the *governors*; principles jealouſly ſecuring the *rights of the people* againſt every encroachment of power: and theſe, he thought, had ſome relation to the cauſe and conduct of America.

What

What ſhall oppoſe this ſpirit, aided by the congenial flame glowing in the breaſts of every Whig in England, to the amount, I hope, of double the American numbers? Ireland they have to a man. In that country, joined as it is with the cauſe of Colonies, and placed at their head, the diſtinction I contend for is and muſt be obſerved. This country ſuperintends and controuls their trade and navigation; but they *tax themſelves*. And this diſtinction between external and internal controul is ſacred and inſurmountable; it is involved in the abſtract nature of things. Property is private, individual, abſolute. Trade is an extended and complicated conſideration: it reaches as far as ſhips can ſail or winds can blow: it is a great and various machine. To regulate the numberleſs movements of its ſeveral parts, and combine them into effect, for the good of the whole, requires the ſuperintending wiſdom and energy of the ſupreme power in the empire. But this ſupreme power has no effect towards internal taxation; for it does not exiſt in that relation; there is no ſuch thing, *no ſuch idea in this conſtitution, as a ſupreme power operating upon property*. Let this diſtinction then remain for

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for ever aſcertained; taxation is theirs, commercial regulation is ours. As an American I would recognize to England her ſupreme right of regulating commerce and navigation: as an Engliſhman by birth and principle, I recognize to the Americans their ſupreme unalienable right in their property; a right which they are juſtified in the defence of to the laſt extremity. To maintain this principle is the common cauſe of the Whigs on the other ſide of the Atlantic, and on this. " 'Tis liberty to liberty engaged," that they will defend themſelves, their families, and their country. In this great cauſe they are immoveably allied; it is the alliance of God and nature—immutable, eternal—fixed as the firmament of heaven.

' To ſuch united force, what force ſhall be oppoſed?—What, my Lords?—A few regiments in America, and ſeventeen or eighteen thouſand men at home!—The idea is too ridiculous to take up a moment of your Lordſhips' time. Nor can ſuch a national and principled union be reſiſted by the tricks of office, or Miniſterial manœuvre. Laying of papers on your table, or counting numbers on a diviſion, will not

avert

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avert or poſtpone the hour of danger: it muſt arrive, my Lords, unleſs theſe fatal acts are done away; it muſt arrive in all its horrors, and then theſe boaſtful Miniſters, ſpite of all their confidence, and all their manœuvres, ſhall be forced to hide their heads. They ſhall be forced to a diſgraceful abandonment of their preſent meaſures and principles, which they avow, but cannot defend; meaſures which they preſume to attempt, but cannot hope to effectuate. They cannot my Lords, they cannot ſtir a ſtep; they have not a *move** left; they are *check-mated.*

'But it is not repealing this act of Parliament, it is not repealing a *piece of parchment*, that can reſtore America to our boſom;

* An alluſion to the game of Cheſs.—The *King* is the object of the game; and therefore the moſt valuable, though not the moſt powerful, piece on the board. *Check-mate* is that ſituation where he is ſo weakly ſupported by his pieces, or ſo entangled by their injudicious diſpoſition, that he cannot eſcape. This danger is often incurred by expoſing himſelf too much, and taking too active a part in the game. Vide Philidor.—It is certainly a noble and royal paſtime. CHARLES I. was actually playing at it in the Scots camp, when intelligence was brought to him of their final reſolution to betray him. In due praiſe of the royal ſteadineſs, the hiſtorian obſerves, that "he continued his game without interruption." See Hume's Hiſt. of England:—or, as Lord *Chatham* once called it, "his *apology* for the Houſe of *Stuart*."

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you muſt repeal her fears and her reſentments; and you may then hope for her love and gratitude. But now, inſulted with an armed force, poſted at Boſton; irritated with an hoſtile array before her eyes, her conceſſions, if you *could* force them, would be ſuſpicious and inſecure; they will be *irato animo;* they will not be the ſound honourable paſſions of freemen, they will be the dictates of fear, and extortions of force. But it is more than evident, that you cannot force them, united as they are, to your unworthy terms of ſubmiſſion—it is impoſſible: and when I hear General *Gage* cenſured for inactivity, I muſt retort with indignation on thoſe, whoſe intemperate meaſures and improvident councils have betrayed him into his preſent ſituation. His ſituation reminds me, my Lords, of the anſwer of a French General in the civil wars of France—Monſieur *Conde* oppoſed to Monſieur *Turenne:* he was aſked, how it happened that he did not take his adverſary priſoner, as he was often very near him: "J'ai peur." replied *Conde*, very honeſtly, "J'ai peur qu'il ne me prenne;"—*I'm afraid he'll take me.*

'When

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARA

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'When your Lordſhips look at the papers tranſmitted us from America; when you conſider their decency, firmneſs, and wiſdom, you cannot but reſpect their cauſe, and wiſh to make it your own. For myſelf, I muſt declare and avow, that in all my reading and obſervation—and it has been my favourite ſtudy—I have read Thucidydes and have ſtudied and admired the maſter-ſtates of the world—that for ſolidity of reaſoning, force of ſagacity, and wiſdom of concluſion, under ſuch a complication of difficult circumſtances, no nation, or body of men, can ſtand in preference to the general Congreſs at Philadelphia. I truſt it is obvious to your Lordſhips, that all attempts to impoſe ſervitude upon ſuch men, to eſtabliſh deſpotiſm over ſuch a mighty continental *nation*, muſt be vain, muſt be fatal. We ſhall be *forced ultimately to retract;* let us retract while we can, not when we muſt. I ſay we muſt neceſſarily undo theſe violent oppreſſive acts * *they muſt be repealed---you*

* Acts of Parliament paſſed in the preceding ſeſſion, for ſhutting up the port of Boſton, altering the charter of Maſſachuſett's Bay, &c. The noble ſpeaker's prediction was ſtrictly verified; the repeal of theſe acts was *at laſt*, after three years fruitleſs war, ſent out as a peace-offering to the Congreſs of America; by whom it was treated with contempt.

will

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will repeal them; I pledge myself for it, that you will in the end repeal them; I stake my reputation on it:—I will consent to be taken for an idiot, if they are not finally repealed.—Avoid, then, this humiliating, disgraceful necessity. With a dignity becoming your exalted situation, make the first advances to concord, to peace, and happiness: for *that* is your true dignity, to act with prudence and justice. That *you* should first concede, is obvious, from sound and rational policy. Concession comes with better grace and more salutary effect from superior power; it reconciles superiority of power with the feelings of men; and establishes solid confidence on the foundations of affection and gratitude.

'So thought a wise poet and a wise man in political sagacity; the friend of Mecænas, and the eulogist of Augustus.—To him, the adopted son and successor, the first Cæsar, to him, the master of the world, he wisely urged this conduct of prudence and dignity; "*Tuque prior, tu parce; projice tela manu.*"

'Every motive, therefore, of justice and of policy, of dignity and of prudence, urges you

you to allay the ferment in America—by a removal of your troops from Boſton—by a repeal of your acts of Parliament- and by demonſtration of amicable diſpoſitions towards your Colonies. On the other hand, every danger and every hazard impend, to deter you from perſeverance in your preſent ruinous meaſures.—Foreign war hanging over your heads by a ſlight and brittle thread: France and Spain watching your conduct, and waiting for the maturity of your errors; —with a vigilant eye to America, and the temper of your Colonies, more than to their own concerns, be they what they may.

'To conclude, my Lords; If the Miniſters thus perſevere in miſadviſing and miſleading the King, I will not ſay, that they *can* alienate the affections of his ſubjects from his crown; but I will affirm, *that they will make the crown not worth his wearing*:—I will not ſay that the King is betrayed; but I will pronounce, *that the kingdom is undone*.'

Here it will not be improper to offer a few explanatory obſervations, particularly on the preceding ſpeech.

The

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The reader will recollect, that the motion which accompanied the preceding speech, for removing his Majesty's troops from Boston, was urged by the noble Speaker expressly on the ground of *peaceably* accommodating the dispute with America. He will remember that the only ground of dispute then, was *the taxation of that country claimed by this*; the attempted exercise of which, had produced a riot at Boston. The *Independence* of America was not then in contemplation: unless in the reveries of a reverend writer* on the subject, who maintained a proposition, memorable only for its *singularity*, "that the independence of America would be a beneficial event to England."—To the Americans it never occurred, unless for the refutation of some injurious suspicions, by the most solemn, absolute, and express disavowal.

The noble Lord's motion was, however, rejected: and hostilities commenced at Lexington, on the 19th of the following April.

It is unnecessary to particularize the subsequent events. They are too well known,

* Dr. *Tucker*.

and

and have been too ſeverely felt, by every friend of his country*. "*Years of Cala-*"*mity*" fatally fulfil the prophecy of Lord *Chatham*. The Britiſh Empire has ſuſtained the "*immedicabile vulnus*" which his wiſdom would have averted.—How he would have corrected the diſorder at its *criſis*, before it attained its deſperate malignity, will be ſeen in his Lordſhip's ſpeech, on the eighteenth of November, 1777. His Majeſty's ſpeech on that day expreſſed the "*Confidence*" and "*Hopes*" of his Miniſters; and they may fairly ſtand in contraſt with the opinions of Lord *Chatham*. Let hiſtory form the comment.

His bill for quieting the troubles in America.

On the firſt day of February 1775, Lord *Chatham* offered to the Houſe of Lords a bill for quieting the troubles in America, which he introduced with ſaying, 'that he offered it as a *baſis* for averting the dangers which now threatened the Britiſh empire; and he hoped, he ſaid, that it would meet

* The aſtoniſhing number of taxes laid upon the people of Great Britain, from the year 1775 to the year 1785, may be juſtly imputed to the American war.

with

CHAP. XLII. 1775. with the approbation of every ſide of the Houſe. He proceeded to ſtate the urgent neceſſity of ſuch a plan : as, perhaps, the delay of a few hours might for ever defeat the poſſibility of any ſuch conciliatory intervention. He repreſented Great Britain and America as drawn up in martial array, waiting for the ſignal to engage in a conteſt, in which it was little matter for whom victory declared, as ruin and deſtruction muſt be the inevitable conſequence to both parties. He wiſhed, he ſaid, from a principle of duty and affection, to act the part of a mediator. He ſaid, however, that no regard for popularity, no predilection for his country, not the high eſteem he entertained for America on the one hand, nor the unalterable ſteady regard he entertained for the dignity of Great-Britain on the other, ſhould at all influence his conduct ; for though he loved the Americans, as men prizing and ſetting the juſt value on that ineſtimable bleſſing, Liberty ; yet if he could once bring himſelf to be perſuaded, that they entertained the moſt diſtant intentions of throwing off the legiſlative ſupremacy and great conſtitutional ſuperintending power and controul of the Britiſh legiſlature, he ſhould be the very perſon

person himſelf, who would be the firſt and moſt zealous mover for ſecuring and enforcing that power by every poſſible exertion this country was capable of making. He recurred to his former arguments, on the great conſtitutional queſtion of taxation and repreſentation; inſiſted they were inſeparable, and planted ſo deeply in the vital principles of the conſtitution, as never to be torn up, without deſtroying and pulling aſunder every band of legal government and good faith, which formed the cement that united its ſeveral conſtituent parts together. He intreated the aſſiſtance of the Houſe to digeſt the crude materials which he preſumed to lay before it, and to reduce his bill to that form which was ſuited to the dignity and the importance of that ſubject, and to the great ends to which it was ultimately directed. He called on them to exerciſe their candour on the preſent occaſion, and deprecated the effects of party, or prejudice; of factious ſpleen, or blind predilection. He avowed himſelf to be actuated by no narrow principle, or perſonal conſideration whatever; for though the preſent bill might be looked upon as a bill of conceſſion, it was impoſſible

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI

CHAP. XLII. 1775. impoſſible but to confeſs at the ſame time that it was a bill of aſſertion.'

The following is an authentic copy of the propoſed bill.

"*A proviſional act for ſettling the troubles in America, and for aſſerting the ſupreme legiſlative authority and ſuperintending power of Great Britain over the Colonies.*

"Whereas by an act 6 Geo. III. it is declared, that Parliament has full power and authority to make laws and ſtatutes to bind the people of the Colonies, in all caſes whatſoever; and whereas reiterated complaints and moſt dangerous diſorders have grown, touching the right of taxation claimed and exerciſed over America, to the diſturbance of peace and good order there, and to the actual interruption of the due intercourſe from Great Britain and Ireland to the Colonies, deeply affecting the navigation, trade, and manufactures of this kingdom and of Ireland, and announcing farther an interruption of all exports from the ſaid Colonies to great Britain, Ireland, and the Britiſh Iſlands in America: Now, for prevention of

of these ruinous mischiefs, and in order to an equitable, honourable, and lasting settlement of claims not sufficiently ascertained and circumscribed, May it please your most Excellent Majesty, that it may be declared, and be it declared by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the Colonies of America have been, are, and of right ought to be, dependent upon the Imperial Crown of Great-Britain, and subordinate unto the British Parliament, and that the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the people of the British Colonies in America, in all matters touching the general weal of the whole dominion of the Imperial Crown of Great Britain, and beyond the competency of the local representative of a distinct colony; and most especially an indubitable and indispensible right to

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CHAP. XLII. 1775. to make and ordain laws for regulating navigation and trade throughout the complicated ſyſtem of Britiſh commerce; the deep policy of ſuch prudent acts upholding the guardian navy of the whole Britiſh empire; and that all ſubjects in the Colonies are bound in duty and allegiance duly to recognize and obey (and they are hereby required ſo to do) the ſupreme legiſlative authority and ſuperintending power of the Parliament of Great Britain, as aforeſaid. And whereas, in a petition from America to his Majeſty, it has been repreſented, that the keeping a ſtanding army within any of the Colonies, in time of peace, without conſent of the reſpective Provincial Aſſembly there, is againſt law: Be it declared by the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, by and with the conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, that the Declaration of Right, at the ever-glorious Revolution, namely, "That the raiſing and keeping a ſtanding army within the kingdom, in time of peace, unleſs it be by the conſent of Parliament, is againſt law," having reference only to the conſent of the Parliament of Great Britain, the legal, conſtitutional, and hitherto unqueſtioned pre-

rogative

rogative of the Crown, to ſend any part of ſuch army, ſo lawfully kept, to any of the Britiſh dominions and poſſeſſions, whether in America or elſewhere, as his Majeſty, in the due care of his ſubjects, may judge neceſſary for the ſecurity and protection of the ſame, cannot be rendered dependent upon the conſent of a Provincial Aſſembly in the Colonies, without a moſt dangerous innovation, and derogation from the dignity of the Imperial Crown of Great Britain. Nevertheleſs, in order to quiet and diſpel groundleſs jealouſies and fears, be it hereby declared, That no military force, however raiſed, and kept according to law, can ever be lawfully employed to violate and deſtroy the juſt rights of the people. Moreover, in order to remove for ever all cauſes of pernicious diſcord, and in due contemplation of the vaſt increaſe of poſſeſſions and population in the Colonies; and having a heart to render the condition of ſo great a body of induſtrious ſubjects there more and more happy, by the ſacredneſs of property and of perſonal liberty, of more extenſive and laſting utility to the parent kingdom, by indiſſoluble ties of mutual affection, confidence, trade, and reciprocal benefits, Be it declared

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and enacted, by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and it is hereby declared and enacted by the authority of the same, That no tallage, tax, or other charge for his Majesty's revenue, shall be commanded or levied, from British freemen in America, without common consent, by act of Provincial Assembly there, duly convened for that purpose. And it is hereby further declared and enacted, by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That it shall and may be lawful for delegates from the respective provinces, lately assembled at Philadelphia, to meet in general Congress at the said city of Philadelphia, on the 9th day of May next ensuing, in order then and there to take into consideration the making due recognition of the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Parliament over the Colonies as aforesaid. And moreover, may it please your most Excellent Majesty, that the said Delegates, to be in

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in Congreſs aſſembled in manner aforeſaid, may be required, and the ſame are hereby required, by the King's Majeſty ſitting in his Parliament, to take into conſideration (over and above the uſual charge for ſupport of civil government in the reſpective Colonies) the making a free grant to the King, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, of a certain perpetual revenue, ſubject to the diſpoſition of the Britiſh Parliament, to be by them appropriated as they in their wiſdom ſhall judge fit, to the alleviation of the national debt: no doubt being had but this juſt, free aid, will be in ſuch honourable proportion as may ſeem meet and becoming from great and flouriſhing colonies towards a parent country labouring under the heavieſt burdens, which, in no inconſiderable part, have been willingly taken upon ourſelves and poſterity, for the defence, extenſion, and proſperity of the Colonies. And to this great end, be it farther hereby declared and enacted, that the general Congreſs (to meet at Philadelphia as aforeſaid) ſhall be, and is hereby authorized and empowered (the Delegates compoſing the ſame being firſt ſufficiently furniſhed with powers from their reſpective provinces for this purpoſe) to ad-

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juſt and fix the proportions and quotas of the ſeveral charges to be borne by each province reſpectively, towards the general contributory ſupply; and this in ſuch fair and equitable meaſure, as may beſt ſuit the abilities and due convenience of all: Provided always, that the powers for fixing the ſaid quotas, hereby given to the delegates from the old provinces compoſing the Congreſs, ſhall not extend to the new provinces of Eaſt and Weſt Florida, Georgia, Nova Scotia, St. John's, and Canada; the circumſtances and abilities of the ſaid provinces being reſerved for the wiſdom of Parliament in their due time. And in order to afford neceſſary time for mature deliberation in America, be it hereby declared, That the proviſions for aſcertaining and fixing the exerciſe of the right of taxation in the Colonies, as agreed and expreſſed by this preſent act, ſhall not be in force, or have any operation, until the delegates to be in Congreſs aſſembled, ſufficiently authoriſed and empowered by their reſpective provinces to this end, ſhall, as an indiſpenſable condition, have duly recogniſed the ſupreme legiſlative authority and ſuperintending power of the Parliament of Great Britain over the Colonies aforeſaid;

ſaid: Always underſtood, That the free grant of an aid, as heretofore required and expected from the Colonies, is not to be conſidered as a condition of redreſs, but as a juſt teſtimony of their affection. And whereas, divers acts of Parliament have been humbly repreſented, in a petition to his Majeſty from America, to have been found grievous, in whole or in part, to the ſubjects of the Colonies, be it hereby declared by the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, That the powers of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty Courts in America ſhall be reſtrained within their ancient limits, and the Trial by Jury, in all civil caſes, where the ſame may be aboliſhed, reſtored: And that no ſubject in America ſhall, in capital caſes, be liable to be indicted and tried for the ſame, in any place out of the province wherein ſuch offence ſhall be alledged to have been committed, nor be deprived of a trial by his peers of the vicinage; nor ſhall it be lawful to ſend perſons indicted for murder in any province of America, to another colony, or to Great Britain,

 for

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for trial. And be it hereby declared and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That all and every the said acts, or so much thereof as are represented to have been found grievous, namely, the several acts of the 4th Geo. III. ch. 15. and ch. 34.—5th Geo. III. ch. 25.—6th Geo. III. ch. 52.—7th Geo. III. ch. 41. and ch. 46.—8th Geo. III. ch. 22.—12th Geo. III. ch. 24.---with the three acts for stopping the port, and blocking up the harbour of Boston; for altering the charter and government of Massachusetts Bay; and that entitled, An act for the better administration of justice, &c.; also the act for regulating the government of Quebec, and the act passed in the same session relating to the quarters of soldiers, shall be, and are hereby suspended, and not to have effect or execution, from the date of this act. And be it moreover hereby declared and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That all and every the before-recited acts, or the parts thereof complained of, shall be and are, in virtue of this present act, finally repealed and annulled, from the day that the new recognition of the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Parliament over

over the Colonies, ſhall have been made on the part of the ſaid Colonies.

And for the better ſecuring due and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice in the Colonies, be it declared and enacted by the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, That his Majeſty's Judges in Courts of Law in the Colonies of America, to be appointed with ſalaries by the Crown, ſhall hold their offices and ſalaries as his Majeſty's Judges in England, *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint.* And it is hereby further declared, by the authority aforeſaid, that the Colonies in America are juſtly entitled to the privileges, franchiſes, and immunities granted by their ſeveral Charters or Conſtitutions; and that the ſaid Charters or Conſtitutions ought not to be invaded or reſumed, unleſs for miſuſer, or ſome legal ground of forfeiture. So ſhall true reconcilement avert impending calamities, and this ſolemn national accord between Great Britain and her Colonies ſtand an everlaſting monument of clemency and magnanimity in the benignant father of his people,

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ple, of wisdom and moderation in this great nation, famed for humanity as for valour, and of fidelity and grateful affection from brave and loyal Colonies to their parent kingdom, which will ever protect and cherish them."

Lord *Sandwich* moved to reject the Bill. Lord *Gower* reprobated the Bill with extraordinary asperity. The Duke of *Grafton* said the Bill was unparliamentary.

Lord Chatham.

'Lord *Chatham* replied to the several objections which were made by the Lords in Administration; he descanted with equal humour and severity upon the very extraordinary logic employed by the noble Duke, his *quondam* colleague in office, and very humble servant. The noble Duke, says his Lordship, is extremely angry with me, that I did not previously consult him on the bringing in the present bill: I would ask the noble Duke, does he consult me? or do I desire to be previously told of any motions or measures he thinks fit to propose to this House? His Grace seems to be much offended at the manner this bill has been hurried. I am certain he could not be serious,

if

if he gave himſelf a minute to conſider how the caſe really ſtands. Here we are told, that America is in a ſtate of actual rebellion, and we are now advanced to the 1ſt of February, and no one ſtep is taken to cruſh this ſuppoſed rebellion: yet, ſuch being the caſe, I am charged with hurrying matters; but whether my conduct may be more juſtly charged with hurrying this buſineſs into, or his Grace with hurrying it out of the Houſe, I believe requires no great depth of penetration to diſcover. As to the other general objections, I preſume it will be recollected, that when I ſubmitted my motion for withdrawing the troops from Boſton, I then gave notice that I would preſent in a few days, a plan of general reconciliation. Eleven days have ſince elapſed, and nothing has been offered by the King's ſervants. Under ſuch circumſtances of emergency on one ſide, when, perhaps, a ſingle day may determine the fate of this great empire; and ſuch a ſhameful negligence, total inattention, and want of ability on the other, what was to be done? No other alternative, in my opinion remained, but either to abandon the intereſts of my country, and relinquiſh my duty, or to propoſe ſome plan, when

when Miniſtry, by their inaction and ſilence, owned themſelves incapable of propoſing any. But even now let them ſpeak out, and tell me, that they have a plan to lay before us, and I will give them an example of candour they are by no means deſerving of, by inſtantly withdrawing the preſent Bill. The indecent attempt to ſtifle this meaſure in embrio, may promiſe conſequences the very reverſe of what I am certain will be the caſe if the bill is admitted. The friends of the preſent motion may flatter themſelves, that the contents of the Bill will ſink into ſilence and be forgotten, but I believe they will find the contrary. This Bill, though rejected here, will make its way to the public, to the nation, to the remoteſt wilds of America; it will, in ſuch a courſe undergo a deal of cool obſervation and inveſtigation; and whatever its merits or demerits may be, it will ſtand or fall by them alone; it will, I truſt, remain an evidence of my poor endeavours to ſerve my country; and however faulty or defective, will at leaſt manifeſt how zealous I have been to avert the impending ſtorms which ſeem ready to burſt on it, and for ever overwhelm it in ruin. Yet, when I conſider the whole caſe as it lies before me,

I am

I am not much aſtoniſhed, I am not ſurpriſed, that men who hate liberty, ſhould deteſt thoſe that prize it; or that thoſe who want virtue themſelves, ſhould endeavour to perſecute thoſe who poſſeſs it. Were I diſpoſed to purſue this theme to the extent that truth would fully bear me out in, I could demonſtrate, that the who'e of your political conduct, has been one continued ſeries of weakneſs, temerity, deſpotiſm, ignorance, futility, negligence, and the moſt notorious ſervility, incapacity, and corruption. On reconſideration, I muſt allow you one merit, a ſtrict attention to your own intereſts: in that view you appear ſound ſtateſmen, and able politicians. You well know, if the preſent meaſure ſhould prevail, that you muſt inſtantly relinquiſh your places. I doubt much whether you will be able to keep them on any terms: but ſure I am, that ſuch is your well-known characters and abilities, any plan of reconciliation, however moderate, wiſe, and feaſible, muſt fail in your hands. Such then being your precarious ſituations, who ſhould wonder that you can put a negative on any meaſure which muſt annihilate your power, deprive you of your emoluments, and at once reduce you

to

CHAP. XLII. 1775. to that ſtate of inſignificance, for which God and Nature deſigned you?'

The Bill was rejected, and not ſuffered to lie upon the table.

Although the Bill met with a fate ſo unjuſt in Parliament, it was very differently received by the Public. On the tenth day of February, the Corporation of the City of London came to the following reſolution.

"That the thanks of this Court be given to the Right Hon. the Earl of *Chatham* for having offered to the Houſe of Lords a plan for conciliating the differences which unfortunately ſubſiſt between the Adminiſtration in this country and its American Colonies; and to all thoſe who ſupported that noble Lord in ſo humane a meaſure."

The Town Clerk having waited on Lord *Chatham* with the above reſolution, his Lordſhip returned the following anſwer:

"Lord *Chatham* deſires the favour of Mr. Town Clerk to offer my Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and Commons, in Common Council

Council aſſembled, his moſt reſpectful and grateful acknowledgements for the ſignal honour they have been pleaſed to confer on the mere diſcharge of his duty, in a moment of impending calamity. CHAP. XLII. 1775.

"Under deep impreſſions of former marks of favourable conſtruction of his conduct, during the evil hour of a dangerous foreign war, he now deems himſelf too fortunate to find his efforts for preventing the ruin and horrors of a civil war, approved, honoured, and ſtrengthened by the firſt Corporate body in the kingdom."

During the remainder of the ſeſſion, which ended on the 26th of May, 1775, Lord *Chatham* did not attend; nor during the ſucceeding ſeſſion, which began on the 26th of Oct. 1775, and ended on the 23d of May 1776. His health declined ſo faſt, he was not able.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIII.

Duke of Grafton resigns—Lord Chatham's motion to discontinue the American War; and Speeches on the same.

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1775.

Duke of Grafton resigns.

AT the meeting of Parliament towards the end of October, 1775, the Duke of *Grafton* being convinced of the hostile measures of the Cabinet against America, declared that his conscience forbade him supporting those measures in Parliament, and, therefore, he resigned the Privy Seal; which was thereupon given to Lord *Dartmouth*, and Lord *George Germaine* succeeded his Lordship as Secretary of State for America.

1777. On the thirteenth day of May, 1777, Lord *Chatham* attended the House of Lords, again, to make another motion, deprecating hostilities with America. He began—

Lord Chatham's motion to discontinue the American war. And Speeches on the same.

'My Lords, this is a flying moment; perhaps but six weeks left to arrest the dangers that surround us. The gathering storm may break; it has already opened, and in part burst.

burſt. It is difficult for Government, after all that has paſſed, to ſhake hands with defiers of the King, defiers of the Parliament, defiers of the people. I am a defier of nobody; but if an end is not put to this war, there is an end to this country. I do not truſt my judgment in my preſent ſtate of health; this is the judgment of my better days; the reſult of forty years attention to America. They are rebels; but what are they rebels for? Surely not for defending their unqueſtionable rights! What have theſe rebels done heretofore? I remember when they raiſed four regiments on their own bottom, and took Louiſbourg from the veteran troops of France. But their exceſſes have been great. I do not mean to be their panegyric; but muſt obſerve in attenuation, the erroneous and infatuated counſels, which have prevailed—the door to mercy and juſtice has been ſhut againſt them. But they may ſtill be taken up upon the Grounds of their former ſubmiſſion. [*Referring to their petition.*] I ſtate to you the importance of America; it is a double-market; the market of conſumption, and the market of ſupply. This double-market for millions, with naval ſtores, you are giving to your

 hereditary

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hereditary rival. America has carried you through former wars, and will now carry you to your death, if you don't take things in time. In the ſportſman's phraſe, when you have found yourſelves at fault, you muſt try back. You have ranſacked every corner of Lower Saxony; but 40,000 German boors never can conquer ten times the number of Britiſh freemen: they may ravage; they cannot conquer. But you would conquer, you ſay! Why, what would you conquer—the map of America? I am ready to meet any General Officer on the ſubject. [Looking at Lord *Amherſt*] What will you do out of the protection of your fleet? In the winter, if together, they are ſtarved; and if diſperſed they are taken off in detail. I am experienced in ſpring hopes and vernal promiſes; I know what Miniſters throw out; but at laſt will come your equinoctial diſappointment. You have got nothing in America but ſtations. You have been three years teaching them the art of war. They are apt ſcholars, and I will venture to tell your Lordſhips, that the American gentry will make officers enough fit to command the troops of all the European powers. What you have ſent there, are too many to make peace,

peace, too few to make war. If you conquer them, what then? You cannot make them respect you; you cannot make them wear your cloth. You will plant an invincible hatred in their breasts against you. Coming from the stock they do, they can never respect you. If Ministers are founded in saying there is no sort of treaty with France, there is still a moment left; the point of honour is still safe. France must be as self-destroying as England, to make a treaty while you are giving her America at the expence of twelve millions a year. The intercourse has produced every thing to France; and England, old England, must pay for all. I have at different times made different propositions, adapted to the circumstances in which they were offered. The plan contained in the former bill, is now impracticable; the present motion will tell you where you are, and what you have now to depend upon. It may produce a respectable division in America, and unanimity at home. It will give America an option; she has yet made no option. You have said, lay down your arms, and she has given you the Spartan answer, "come take." [*Here he read his motion.*]

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"THAT an humble addrefs be prefented to his Majefty, moft dutifully reprefenting to his royal wifdom, that this Houfe is deeply penetrated with the view of impending ruin to the kingdom, from the continuation of an unnatural war againft the Britifh Colonies in America; and moft humbly to advife his Majefty to take the moft fpeedy and effectual meafures for putting a ftop to fuch fatal hoftilities, upon the only juft and folid foundation, namely the removal of accumulated grievances; and to affure his Majefty, that this Houfe will enter upon this great and neceffary work with chearfulnefs and difpatch, in order to open to his Majefty the only means of regaining the affections of the Britifh Colonies, and of fecuring to Great Britain the commercial advantages of thefe valuable poffeffions; fully perfuaded, that to heal and to redrefs, will be more congenial to the goodnefs and magnanimity of his Majefty, and more prevalent over the hearts of generous and free-born fubjects, than the rigours of chaftifement, and the horrors of a civil war, which hitherto have ferved only to fharpen refentments, and confolidate union, and, if continued, muft

end

end in finally diſſolving all ties between Great Britain and the Colonies." CHAP. XLIII. 1777.

Lord *Chatham* roſe again. 'The propoſal he ſaid, is ſpecific. I though it ſo clear, that I did not enlarge upon it. I mean the redreſs of all their grievances, and the right of diſpoſing of their own money. This is to be done inſtantaneouſly. I will get out of my bed to move it on Monday. This will be the herald of peace; this will open the way for treaty; this will ſhew Parliament ſincerely diſpoſed. Yet ſtill much muſt be left to treaty. Should you conquer this people, you conquer under the cannon of France; under a maſked battery then ready to open. The moment a treaty with France appears, you muſt declare war, though you had only five ſhips of the line in England; but France will defer a treaty as long as poſſible. You are now at the mercy of every little German chancery; and the pretenſions of France will increaſe daily, ſo as to become an avowed party in either peace or war. We have tried for unconditional ſubmiſſion: try what can be gained by unconditional redreſs. Leſs dignity will be loſt in the repeal, than in ſubmitting to the

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demands of German chanceries. We are the aggreſſors. We have invaded them. We have invaded them as much as the Spaniſh armada invaded England. Mercy cannot do harm; it will ſeat the King where he ought to be, throned on the hearts of his people; and millions at home and abroad, now employed in obloquy or revolt, would pray for him.

In making his motion for addreſſing the King, he inſiſted frequently and ſtrongly on the abſolute neceſſity of immediately making peace with America. Now, he ſaid, 'was the criſis, before France was a party to the treaty. This was the only moment left before the fate of this country was decided. The French court, he obſerved, was too wiſe to loſe the opportunity of effectually ſeparating America from the dominions of this kingdom. War between France and Great Britain, he ſaid, was not leſs probable becauſe it had not yet been declared: it would be folly in France to declare it now, while America gave full employment to our arms, and was pouring into her lap her wealth and produce; the benefit of which ſhe was enjoying in peace. He enlarged

much

much on the importance of America to this country, which, in peace and in war he observed, he ever confidered as the great fource of all our wealth and power. And then added [raifing his voice] "Your trade languifhes, your taxes increafe, your revenues diminifh; France, at this moment, is fecuring and drawing to herfelf that commerce, which created your feamen, fed your iflands &c." 'He reprobated the meafures which produced, and which have been purfued in the conduct of the civil war, in the fevereft language; infatuated meafures giving rife, and ftill continuing a cruel, unnatural, felf deftroying war. Succefs, it is faid, is hoped for in this campaign. Why? Becaufe our army will be as ftrong this year as it was laft, when it was not ftrong enough. The notion of conquering America he treated with the greateft contempt.'

Lord *Gower*, and other Lords in Adminiftration, condemned the motion in the fevereft terms: and Lord *Hillfborough* affecting not to underftand it, Lord *Chatham* rofe a fecond time, and faid,

'I will, with your Lordfhip's permiffion, ftate fhortly what I meant. My Lords, my

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motion was ſtated generally, that I might leave the queſtion at large to be amended by your Lordſhips. I did not dare to point out the ſpecific means. I drew the motion up to the beſt of my poor abilities; but I intended it only as the herald of conciliation, as the harbinger of peace to our afflicted Colonies. But as the noble Lord ſeems to wiſh for ſomething more ſpecific on the ſubject, and through that medium ſeeks my particular ſentiments, I will tell your Lordſhips very fairly what I wiſh for. I wiſh for a repeal of every oppreſſive act which your Lordſhips have paſſed ſince 1763. I would put our brethren in America preciſely on the ſame footing they ſtood at that period. I would expect, that being left at liberty to tax themſelves, and diſpoſe of their own property, they would in return contribute to the common burthens, according to their means and abilities. I will move your Lordſhips for a bill of repeal, as the only means left to arreſt that approaching deſtruction which threatens to overwhelm us.—My Lords, I ſhall no doubt hear it objected, Why ſhould we ſubmit or concede? Has America done any thing on her part to induce us to agree to ſo large a ground of conceſſion?

ceſſion? I will tell you, my Lords, why I think you ſhould. You have been the aggreſſors from the beginning. I ſhall not trouble your Lordſhips with the particulars; they have been ſtated and enforced by the noble and learned Lord, who ſpoke laſt but one, (Lord *Camden*,) in a much more able and diſtinct manner than I could pretend to ſtate them. If, then, we are the aggreſſors, it is your Lordſhips buſineſs to make the firſt overture. I ſay again, this country has been the aggreſſor. You have made deſcents upon their coaſts; you have burnt their towns, plundered their country, made war upon the inhabitants, confiſcated their property, proſcribed and impriſoned their perſons. I do therefore affirm, my Lords, that inſtead of exacting unconditional ſubmiſſion from the Colonies, we ſhould grant them unconditional redreſs. We have injured them; we have endeavoured to enſlave and oppreſs them. Upon this ground, my Lords, inſtead of chaſtiſement, they are entitled to redreſs. A repeal of thoſe laws, of which they complain, will be the firſt ſtep to that redreſs. The people of America look upon Parliament as the author of their miſeries; their affections are eſtranged from their Sovereign.

Let

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Let, then, reparation come from the hands that inflicted the injuries; let conciliation succeed chaſtiſement; and I do maintain, that Parliament will again recover its authority; that his Majeſty will be once more enthroned in the hearts of his American ſubjects; and that your Lordſhips, as contributing to ſo great, glorious, ſalutary, and benignant a work, will receive the prayers and benedictions of every part of the Britiſh empire.'

The motion was negatived.

The ſeſſion ended on the ſixth day of June 1777.

CHAP. XLIV.

Lord Chatham's Speech on the Addreſs, and his amendment—on the employment of the Indians in North America—on the Returns of the Army—on the Capture of General Burgoyne's Army—His motion on the employment of the Indians—His Speech againſt the motion to adjourn.

CHAP. XLIV.

PARLIAMENT met on the 18th day of November 1777. The war with America becoming every day more critical, Lord *Chatham*, though he had ſcarcely ſtrength

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to move, foreſeeing the fatal conſequences of it, was exceedingly ardent in his wiſh to arreſt the evil, in every ſtage of its progreſs. He therefore attended on the firſt day of the Seſſion. Lord *Percy* having moved the Addreſs, Lord *Chatham* roſe in a little time after. CHAP. XLIV. 1777.

'I riſe, my Lords,' he ſaid*, 'to declare my ſentiments on this moſt ſolemn and ſerious ſubject. It has impoſed a load upon my mind, which, I fear, nothing can remove; but which impels me to endeavour its alleviation, by a free and unreſerved communication of my ſentiments. Lord Chatham's Speech on the Addreſs.

'In the firſt part of the Addreſs, I have the honour of heartily concurring with the noble Earl who moved it. No man feels ſincerer joy than I do; none can offer more genuine congratulation on every acceſſion of ſtrength to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion: I therefore join in every congratulation on the birth of another princeſs, and the happy recovery

* This ſpeech was taken by the ſame gentleman who took that of the 20th of January 1775, and has been equally eſteemed for its accuracy.

of

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI

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of her Majeſty. But I muſt ſtop here; my courtly complaiſance will carry me no further: I will not join in congratulation on misfortune and diſgrace: I cannot concur in a blind and ſervile addreſs, which approves, and endeavours to ſanctify, the monſtrous meaſures which have heaped diſgrace and misfortune upon us—which have brought ruin to our doors. This, my Lords, is a perilous and tremendous moment! It is not a time for adulation. The ſmoothneſs of flattery cannot now avail—cannot ſave us in this rugged and awful criſis. It is now neceſſary to inſtruct the Throne in the language of truth. We muſt diſpel the deluſion and the darkneſs which envelope it; and diſplay, in its full danger and true colours, the ruin that is brought to our doors.

'This, my Lords, is our duty; it is the proper function of this noble aſſembly, ſitting, as we do, upon our honours in this houſe, the hereditary council of the crown: And *who* is the miniſter—*where* is the miniſter, that has dared to ſuggeſt to the Throne the contrary, unconſtitutional language this day delivered from it?——The accuſtomed language from the Throne has been

been application to Parliament for advice, and a reliance on its conſtitutional advice and aſſiſtance: as it is the right of Parliament to give, ſo it is the duty of the crown to aſk it. But on this day, and in this extreme momentous exigency, no reliance is repoſed on our conſtitutional counſels! no advice is aſked from the ſober and enlightened care of Parliament! But the Crown, from itſelf, and by itſelf, declares an unalterable determination to purſue meaſures—and what meaſures, my Lords?---The meaſures that have produced the imminent perils that threaten us; the meaſures that have brought ruin to our doors.

'Can the miniſter of the day now preſume to expect a continuance of ſupport, in this ruinous infatuation? Can Parliament be ſo dead to its dignity and its duty, as to be thus deluded into the loſs of the one, and the violation of the other?——To give an unlimited credit and ſupport for the *ſteady* perſeverance in meaſures; that is the word and the conduct——propoſed for our parliamentary advice, but dictated and forced upon us—in meaſures, I ſay, my Lords, which have reduced this late flouriſhing empire

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pire to ruin and contempt!—"*But yesterday, and* England *might have stood against the world: now none so poor to do her reverence.*" I use the words of a poet; but though it be poetry, it is no fiction. It is a shameful truth, that not only the power and strength of this country are wasting away and expiring; but her well-earned glories, her true honour, and substantial dignity, are sacrificed. France, my Lords, has insulted you; she has encouraged and sustained America; and whether America be wrong or right, the dignity of this country ought to spurn at the officious insult of French interference. The ministers and ambassadors of those who are called rebels and enemies, are in Paris; in Paris they transact the reciprocal interests of America and France. Can there be a more mortifying insult? Can even our ministers sustain a more humiliating disgrace? Do they dare to resent it? Do they presume even to hint a vindication of their honour, and the dignity of the state, by requiring the dismission of the plenipotentiaries of America? Such is the degradation to which they have reduced the glories of England! The people whom they affect to call contemptible rebels, but whose growing power

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has at laſt obtained the name of enemies; the people with whom they have engaged this country in war, and againſt whom they now command our implicit ſupport in every meaſure of deſperate hoſtility: this people, deſpiſed as rebels, or acknowledged as enemies, are abetted againſt you, ſupplied with every military ſtore, their intereſts conſulted, and their ambaſſadors entertained, by your inveterate enemy! and our miniſters dare not interpoſe with dignity or effect. Is this the honour of a great kingdom? Is this the indignant ſpirit of England, who, "but yeſterday," gave law to the Houſe of Bourbon? My Lords, the dignity of nations demands a deciſive conduct in a ſituation like this. Even when the greateſt prince that perhaps this country ever ſaw, filled our throne, the requiſition of a Spaniſh general, on a ſimilar ſubject, was attended to, and complied with; for, on the ſpirited remonſtrance of the duke of Alva, Elizabeth found herſelf obliged to deny the Flemiſh exiles all countenance, ſupport, or even entrance into her dominions; and the Count le Marque, with his few deſperate followers, was expelled the kingdom. Happening to arrive at the Brille, and finding it weak in defence, they

CHAP. XLIV. 1777. they made themfelves mafters of the place: and this was the foundation of the United Provinces.

'My Lords, this ruinous and ignominious fituation, where we cannot act with fuccefs, nor fuffer with honour, calls upon us to remonftrate in the ftrongeft and loudeft language of truth, to refcue the ear of Majefty from the delufions which furround it. The defperate ftate of our arms abroad is in part known: no man thinks more highly of them than I do: I love and honour the Englifh troops: I know their virtues and their valour: I know they can achieve any thing except impoffibilities; and I know that the conqueft of Englifh America *is an impoffibility*. You cannot, I venture to fay it, YOU CANNOT conquer America. Your armies laft war effected every thing that could be effected; and what was it? It coft a numerous army, under the command of a moft able general*, now a noble Lord in this houfe, a long and laborious campaign, to expel five thoufand Frenchmen from French America. My Lords, *you cannot conquer*

* Sir *Jeffery* (now Lord) *Amherft*.

America.

America. What is your prefent fituation there? We do not know the worft; but we know, that in three campaigns we have done nothing and fuffered much. Befides the fufferings, perhaps *total lofs*, of the Northern force*; the beft appointed army that ever took the field commanded by Sir William Howe, has retired from the American lines; *he was obliged* to relinquifh his attempt, and with great delay and danger, to adopt a new and diftant plan of operations. We fhall foon know, and in any event have reafon to lament, what may have happened fince. As to conqueft, therefore, my Lords, I repeat, it is impoffible.—You may fwell every expence, and every effort, ftill more extravagantly; pile and accumulate every affiftance you can buy or borrow; traffic and barter with every little pitiful German prince, that fells and fends his fubjects to the fhambles of a foreign prince; your efforts are for ever vain and impotent---doubly fo from this mercenary aid on which you rely; for it irritates,

* General *Burgoyne*'s army. The hiftory of it is fhort—Moft of its braveft officers fell; and about half its numbers; the REST furrendered to the enemy on the 17th of October, 1777. See the Gazettes.—The account of this *total lofs*, as the noble fpeaker's prefcience expreffed it on the 18th of November, arrived in England in the beginning of December.

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to an incurable refentment, the minds of your enemies---to over-run them with the mercenary fons of rapine and plunder; devoting them and their poffeffions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty! If I were an American, as I am an Englifhman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms---never---never---never.

'Your own army is infected with the contagion of thefe illiberal allies. The fpirit of plunder and of rapine is gone forth among them. I know it---and notwithftanding what the noble Earl *, who moved the addrefs, has given as his opinion of our American army, I know from authentic information, and the *moft experienced officers*, that our difcipline is deeply wounded. Whilft this is notorioufly our finking fituation, America grows and flourifhes: whilft our ftrength and difcipline are lowered, theirs are rifing and improving.

'But, my Lords, who is the man, that in addition to thefe difgraces and mifchiefs of

* Lord *Percy*.

our

our army, has dared to authoriſe and aſſociate to our arms the tomahawk and ſcalping-knife of the ſavage? To call into civilized alliance, the wild and inhuman ſavage of the woods; to delegate to the merciless Indian, the defence of diſputed rights, and to wage the horrors of his barbarous war againſt our brethren? My Lords, theſe enormities cry aloud for redreſs and puniſhment; unleſs thoroughly done away, it will be a ſtain on the national character---it is a violation of the Conſtitution---I believe it is againſt law. It is not the leaſt of our national misfortunes, that the ſtrength and character of our army are thus impaired; infected with the mercenary ſpirit of robbery and rapine---familiarized to the horrid ſcenes of ſavage cruelty, it can no longer boaſt of the noble and generous principles which dignify a ſoldier; no longer ſympathize with the dignity of the royal banner, nor feel the pride, pomp, and circumſtance of glorious war, "that make ambition virtue!" What makes ambition virtue?---the ſenſe of honour. But is the ſenſe of honour conſiſtent with a ſpirit of plunder, or the practice of murder? Can it flow from mercenary motives, or can it prompt to cruel deeds? Be-

 ſides

CHAP. XLIV. 1777. ſides theſe murderers and plunderers, let me aſk our Miniſters, what other allies have they acquired? What *other powers* have they aſſociated to their cauſe? Have they entered into alliance with the *king of the gypſies?* Nothing, my Lords, is too low or too ludicrous to be conſiſtent with their counſels.

"The independent views of America have been ſtated and aſſerted as the foundation of this addreſs. My Lords, no man wiſhes for the due dependence of America on this country more than I do. To preſerve it, and not confirm that ſtate of independence into which *your meaſures* hitherto have *driven* them, is the object which we ought to unite in attaining. The Americans, contending for their rights againſt the arbitrary exactions, I love and admire; it is the ſtruggle of free and virtuous patriots: but contending for independency and total diſconnection from England, as an Engliſhman, I cannot wiſh them ſucceſs; for, in a due conſtitutional dependency, including the ancient ſupremacy of this country in regulating their commerce and navigation, conſiſts the mutual happineſs and proſperity both of England and America. She derived aſſiſtance

ance and protection from us; and we reaped from her the most important advantages:--- She was, indeed, the fountain of our wealth, the nerve of our strength, the nursery and basis of our naval power. It is out duty, therefore, my Lords, if we wish to save our country, most seriously to endeavour the recovery of these most beneficial subjects: and in this perilous crisis, perhaps the present moment may be the only one in which we can hope for success: for in their negotiations with France, they have, or think they have, reason to complain; though it be notorious that they have received from that power, important supplies and assistance of various kinds, yet it is certain they expected it in a more decisive and immediate degree. America is in ill humour with France, on some points that have not entirely answered her expectations: let us wisely take advantage of every possible moment of reconciliation. Besides, the natural disposition of America herself still leans towards England; to the old habits of connection and mutual interest that united both countries. This *was* the established sentiment of all the Continent; and still, my Lords, in the great and principal part, the sound part of America, this

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CHAP. XLIV. 1777. this wife and affectionate difpofition prevails; and there is a very confiderable part of America yet found---the middle and the fouthern provinces; fome parts may be factious and blind to their true interefts; but if we exprefs a wife and benevolent difpofition to communicate with them thofe immutable rights of nature, and thofe conftitutional liberties, to which they are equally entitled with ourfelves; by a conduct fo juft and humane; we fhall confirm the favourable, and conciliate the adverfe. I fay, my Lords, the rights and liberties to which they are equally entitled, with ourfelves, but no more. I would participate to them every enjoyment and freedom which the colonizing fubjects of a free ftate can poffefs, or wifh to poffefs; and I do not fee why they fhould not enjoy every fundamental right in their property, and every original fubftantial liberty, which Devonfhire or Surry, or the county I live in, or any other county in England, can claim; referving always, as the facred right of the mother country, the due conftitutional dependency of the Colonies. The inherent fupremacy of the ftate in regulating and protecting the navigation and commerce of all her fubjects, is neceffary

for

for the mutual benefit and preſervation of every part, to conſtitute and preſerve the proſperous arrangement of the whole empire. CHAP. XLIV. 1777.

'The ſound parts of America, of which I have ſpoken, muſt be ſenſible of theſe great truths, and of their real intereſts. America is not in that ſtate of deſperate and contemptible rebellion, which this country has been deluded to believe. It is not a wild and lawleſs banditti, who, having nothing to loſe, might hope to ſnatch ſomething from public convulſions; many of their leaders and great men have a great ſtake in this great conteſt:—the gentleman who conducts their armies, I am told, has an eſtate of four or five thouſand pounds a year: and when I conſider theſe things, I cannot but lament the inconſiderate violence of our penal acts, our declarations of treaſon and rebellion, with all the fatal effects of attainder and confiſcation.

'As to the diſpoſition of foreign powers, which is aſſerted to be pacific* and friendly,

* In the King's Speech.

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let us judge, my Lords, rather by their actions and the nature of things, than by interested aſſertions. The uniform aſſiſtance, ſupplied to America by France, ſuggeſts a different concluſion;—The moſt important intereſts of France, in aggrandizing and enriching herſelf with what ſhe moſt wants, ſupplies of every naval ſtore from America, muſt inſpire her with different ſentiments. The extraordinary preparations of theHouſe of Bourbon, by land and by ſea, from Dunkirk to the Streights, equally ready and willing to overwhelm theſe defenceleſs iſlands, ſhould rouſe us to a ſenſe of their real diſpoſition, and our own danger. Not five thouſand troops in England!—hardly three thouſand in Ireland! What can we oppoſe to the combined force of our enemies?—Scarcely twenty ſhips of the line fully or ſufficiently manned, that any Admiral's reputation would permit him to take the command of*.—The river of Liſbon in the poſ-ſeſſion

* In reply to the noble ſpeaker's aſſertion, relative to the number of ſhips, &c. the firſt Lord of the Admiralty roſe in his place, and gave their Lordſhips official aſſurance, "that thirty-five ſhips of the line were then (Nov. 18th, 1777) completely ready: that ſeven more would be ready in a few weeks; in all *forty-two*: and that an Admiral of the moſt acknowledged merit (he then ſaid) and

ſeſſion of our enemies!—The ſeas ſwept by American privateers:—Our channel trade torn to pieces by them! In this complicated criſis of danger, weakneſs at home, and calamity abroad, terrified and inſulted by the neighbouring powers,—unable to act in America, or acting only to be deſtroyed;—where is the man with the forehead to promiſe or hope for ſucceſs in ſuch a ſituation? or, from perſeverance in the meaſures that have driven us to it? Who has the forehead to do ſo? Where is that man? I ſhould be glad to ſee his face.

'You cannot *conciliate* America by your preſent meaſures—you cannot *ſubdue* her by your preſent, or by any meaſures. What, then, can you do? You cannot conquer, you cannot gain, but you can *addreſs*;

and of the higheſt reputation, Admiral *Keppel*, was ready to take the command."—In March, 1778, Admiral *Keppel* went to Portſmouth to take the command. He found "but *ſix ſhips* ready," and thoſe in ill condition.—See *Defence of Admiral Keppel*.—"On the 30th of June, twenty ſhips of the line were ready, with which Admiral *Keppel* ſailed. Thirty-two ſhips of the line then lay in Breſt-water, beſides an incredible number of frigates." *Ibid.*—The Engliſh fleet were forced to return, from this vaſt ſuperiority of the fleet of France.—"A firſt Lord of the Admiralty, if he does not take care always to have a fleet ſuperior to both France and Spain, *deſerves to loſe his head*."—Ld. *Sandwich*.

CHAP. XLIV. 1777. you can lull the fears and anxieties of the moment into an ignorance of the danger that ſhould produce them. But, my Lords, the time demands the language of truth:—we muſt not now apply the flattering unction of ſervile compliance, or blind complaiſance. In a juſt and neceſſary war, to maintain the rights or honour of my country, I would ſtrip the ſhirt from my back to ſupport it. But in ſuch a war as this, unjuſt in its principle, impracticable in its means, and ruinous in its conſequences, I would not contribute a ſingle effort, nor a ſingle ſhilling. I do not call for vengeance on the heads of thoſe who have been guilty; I only recommend to them to make their retreat: let them walk off; and let them make haſte, or they may be aſſured that ſpeedy and condign puniſhment will over-take them.

'My Lords, I have ſubmitted to you, with the freedom and truth which I think my duty, my ſentiments on your preſent awful ſituation. I have laid before you the ruin of your power, the diſgrace of your reputation, the pollution of your diſcipline, the contamination of your morals, the complication of calamities, foreign and domeſtic,

that

that overwhelm your ſinking country. Your deareſt intereſts, your own liberties, the Conſtitution itſelf, totters to the foundation. All this diſgraceful danger, this multitude of miſery, is the monſtrous offspring of this unnatural war. We have been deceived and deluded too long: let us now ſtop ſhort: this is the criſis—may be the only * criſis, of time and ſituation, to give us a poſſibility of eſcape from the fatal effects of our deluſions. But if in an obſtinate and infatuated perſeverance in folly, we ſlaviſhly echo the peremptory words this day preſented to us, nothing can ſave this devoted country from complete and final ruin. We madly ruſh into multiplied miſeries and "confuſion worſe confounded."

' Is it poſſible, can it be believed, that Miniſters are yet blind to this impending deſtruction?—I did hope, that inſtead of this falſe and empty vanity, this over-weening pride, engendering high conceits, and

* It cannot have eſcaped obſervation, with what urgent anxiety the noble ſpeaker has preſſed this point throughout his ſpeech: the critical neceſſity of *inſtantly* treating with America. But the warning voice was heard in vain: the *Addreſs* triumphed: Parliament adjourned: Miniſters enjoyed the feſtive receſs of a long Chriſtmas:—and America *ratified* her alliance with France.

preſump-

CHAP. XLIV. 1777. presumptuous imaginations—that Ministers would have humbled themselves in their errors, would have confessed and retracted them, and by an active, though a late repentance, have endeavoured to redeem them. But, my Lords, since they had neither sagacity to foresee, nor justice nor humanity to shun, these oppressive calamities; since, not even severe experience can make them feel, nor the imminent ruin of their country awaken them from their stupefaction, the guardian care of Parliament must interpose. I shall therefore, my Lords, propose to you an amendment to the address to his Majesty, to be inserted immediately after the two first paragraphs of congratulation on the birth of a Princess: to recommend an immediate cessation of hostilities, and the commencement of a treaty to restore peace and liberty to America, strength and happiness to England, security and permanent prosperity to both countries.——This my Lords, is yet in our power; and let not the wisdom and justice of your Lordships neglect the happy, and, perhaps the only opportunity. By the establishment of recoverable law, founded on mutual rights, and ascertained by treaty, these glorious enjoy-

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ments may be firmly perpetuated. And let me repeat to your Lordſhips, that the ſtrong bias of America, at leaſt of the wiſe and ſounder parts of it, naturally inclines to this happy and Conſtitutional re-connection with you. Notwithſtanding the temporary intrigues with France, we may ſtill be aſſured of their ancient and confirmed partiality to us. America and France cannot be congenial; there is ſomething deciſive and confirmed in the honeſt American, that will not aſſimilate to the futility and levity of Frenchmen.

'My Lords, to encourage and confirm that innate inclination to this country, founded on every principle of affection, as well as conſideration of intereſt—to reſtore that favourable diſpoſition into a permanent and powerful re-union with this country—to revive the mutual ſtrength of the empire; —again, to awe the Houſe of Bourbon, inſtead of meanly truckling, as our preſent calamities compel us, to every inſult of French caprice, and Spaniſh punctilio—to re-eſtabliſh our commerce—to re-aſſert our rights and our honour—to confirm our intereſts, and renew our glories for ever (a con-

CHAP. XLIV. 1777. consummation most devoutly to be endeavoured! and which, I trust, may yet arise from reconciliation with America)—I have the honour of submitting to you the following amendment; which I move to be inserted after the two first paragraphs of the address.'

His Amendment "And that this House does most humbly advise and supplicate his Majesty, to be pleased to cause the most speedy and effectual measures to be taken, for restoring peace in America; and that no time may be lost in proposing an immediate cessation of hostilities there, in order to the opening a treaty for the final settlement of the tranquillity of these invaluable provinces, by a removal of the unhappy causes of this ruinous civil war; and by a just and adequate security against the return of the like calamities in times to come. And this House desire to offer the most dutiful assurances to his Majesty, that they will, in due time, chearfully co-operate with the magnanimity and tender goodness of his Majesty, for the preservation of his people, by such explicit and most solemn declarations, and provisions of fundamental and revocable laws, as may be judged necessary

ſary for the aſcertaining and fixing for ever the reſpective rights of Great Britain and her Colonies."

The amendment was negatived.

In the courſe of the debate, Lord *Suffolk*, Secretary of State for the Northern department, undertook to defend the employment of the Indians in the war. His Lordſhip contended, that, beſides its *policy* and *eceſſity*, the meaſure was alſo allowable on *principle*; for that "it was perfectly juſtifiable to uſe all the means that *God and Nature put into our hands.*"

Lord Chatham's Speech on the employment of Indians

'I AM ASTONISHED!' (exclaimed Lord *Chatham*, as he roſe)—'ſhocked! to hear ſuch principles confeſſed—to hear them avowed in this houſe, or in this country: principles equally unconſtitutional, inhuman, and unchriſtian!

'My Lords, I did not intend to have encroached again upon your attention; but I cannot repreſs my indignation—I feel myſelf impelled by every duty. My Lords, we are called upon as members of this Houſe, as men,

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men, as Christian-men, to proteſt againſt ſuch notions ſtanding near the throne, polluting the ear of Majeſty. "That God and nature put into our hands." I know not what ideas that Lord may entertain of God and nature; but I know that ſuch abominable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity.—What! to attribute the ſacred ſanction of God and nature to the maſſacres of the Indian ſcalping knife—to the cannibal ſavage torturing, murdering, roaſting, and eating; literally, my Lords, *eating* the mangled victims of his barbarous battles! Such horrible notions ſhock every precept of religion, divine or natural, and every generous feeling of humanity. And, my Lords, they ſhock every ſentiment of honour; they ſhock me as a lover of honourable war, and a deteſter of murderous barbarity.

'Theſe abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them, demand the moſt deciſive indignation. I call upon that *Right Reverend* Bench, thoſe holy miniſters of the goſpel, and pious paſtors of our church; I conjure them to join in the holy work, and vindicate the religion of their

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their God: I appeal to the wiſdom and the law of *this learned* Bench, to defend and ſupport the juſtice of their country: I call upon the Biſhops, to interpoſe the unſullied ſanctity of their lawn;—upon the learned Judges, to interpoſe the purity of their ermine, to ſave us from this pollution: I call upon the honour of your Lordſhips, to reverence the dignity of your anceſtors, and to maintain your own: I call upon the ſpirit and humanity of my country, to vindicate the national character: I invoke the genius of the conſtitution. From the tapeſtry that adorns theſe walls, the immortal anceſtor of this noble Lord * frowns with indignation at the diſgrace of his country. In vain he led your victorious fleets againſt the boaſted Armada of Spain; in vain he defended and eſtabliſhed the honour, the liberties, the religion, the *Proteſtant religion*, of this country, againſt the arbitrary cruelties of Popery and the Inquiſition, if theſe more than popiſh cruelties and inquiſitorial practices are let looſe among us; to turn forth into our

* Lord *Effingham.*—Lord *Effingham Howard* was Lord High Admiral of England againſt the Spaniſh armada; the deſtruction of which is repreſented in the tapeſtry.

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settlements, among our ancient connexions, friends, and relations, the merciless cannibal, thirsting for the blood of man, woman, and child! to send forth the infidel savage— against whom? against your Protestant brethren; to lay waste their country, to desolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race and name, with these horrible hell-hounds of savage war!- *hell-hounds, I say, of savage war*. Spain armed herself with blood-hounds to extirpate the wretched natives of America; and we improve on the inhuman example even of Spanish cruelty we turn loose these savage hell-hounds against our brethren and countrymen in America, of the same language, laws, liberties, and religion; endeared to us by every tye that should sanctify humanity.'

'My Lords, this awful subject, so important to our honour, our constitution, and our religion, demands the most solemn and effectual enquiry. And I again call upon your Lordships, and the united powers of the state, to examine it thoroughly and decisively, and to stamp upon it an indelible stigma of the public abhorrence. And I again implore those holy prelates of our religion,

ligion, to do away these iniquites from among us. Let them perform a lustration; let them purify this House, and this country, from this sin.

'My Lords, I am old and weak, and at present unable to say more; but my feelings and indignation were too strong to have said less. I could not have slept this night in my bed, nor reposed my head on my pillow, without giving this vent to my eternal abhorrence of such preposterous and enormous principles.'

This speech had no effect. The Address was agreed to.

On the 2d day of December 1777, the duke of *Richmond* moved for the returns of the army and navy in Ireland and America. Upon this occasion, Lord *Chatham* said,

On the returns of the army.

'I most cheerfully testify my approbation of the motions now made by the noble Duke; and am firmly persuaded, that they have originated in the most exalted motives; nor am I less pleased with the very candid reception they have met with from your

 Lordships.

CHAP. XLIV. 1777. Lordſhips. I think they will draw forth a great maſs of uſeful information; but as to thoſe reſpecting the ſtate of our military ſtrength, there appears ſomething yet wanting to render them complete. Nothing has been offered which may lead to inform us of the actual ſtate of the garriſons of Gibraltar and Minorca, thoſe two very important fortreſſes, which have hitherto enabled us to maintain our ſuperiority in the Mediterranean, and one of them (Gibraltar) ſituated on the very continent of Spain, the beſt proof of our naval power, and the only ſolid check on that of the Houſe of Bourbon; yet thoſe two important fortreſſes are left to chance, and the pacific diſpoſitions of France and Spain, as the only protection; we hold them but by ſufferance. I know them to be in a defenceleſs ſtate. None of your Lordſhips are ignorant that we loſt Mahon at the commencement of the laſt war. It was indeed a fatal diſaſter, as it expoſed the trade and commerce of the Mediterranean to the ravages of our inveterate and then powerful enemies. My Lords, ſuch was the light the acquiſition of that fortreſs was locked upon when it was firſt taken, that the Duke of *Marlborough*, who was no great penman,

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but who employed a ſecretary to draw up his diſpatches, in anſwer to the letter from the able general and conſummate ſtateſman who conquered it (the father of my noble relation now in my eye, Earl *Stanhope)* truſted the diſpatch to the ſecretary, but added a poſtſcript in his own hand-writing, where he recommended particularly to the victorious general, by no means to neglect putting that fortreſs in the beſt poſſible ſtate of defence, and to garriſon it with natives, and not foreigners. When I had the honour, ſoon after it fell into the hands of the French, to be called into the councils of the late King, I never loſt ſight of that circumſtance. Gibraltar ſtill remained in our hands; and the war in Germany, which Parliament thought fit to engage in, and bind themſelves to, before I came into office; though we were carrying on the moſt extenſive operations in America; though the coaſt of Africa, and the Weſt India iſlands, required a ſuitable force to protect them; and though theſe k ngdoms called for a proportionate army, not only to act defenſively, but offenſively on the coaſts of our enemies; notwithſtanding all thoſe preſſing ſervices, my Lords, having the counſel of that great

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man conſtantly in view, it determined me, that whatever demands, or how much ſo-ever ſuch troops might be wanting elſewhere, that Gibraltar ſhould never want a full and adequate defence. I never had, my Lords, leſs than eight battalions to defend it. I think a battalion was then about eight hundred ſtrong. So that, my Lords, I affirm that Gibraltar was never truſted to a garriſon of leſs than ſix thouſand men. My Lords, this force was, as it were, locked up in that fortreſs during the whole of the late war; nor could any appearance of the moſt urgent neceſſity induce me to weaken it. My Lords, I know that the very weak and defenceleſs ſtate of theſe iſlands does not ſeem to admit of any troops being ſpared from the home defence; but, my Lords, give me leave to ſay, that whatever reluctance or diſguſt there may have appeared in ſeveral veteran and able Generals to the ſervice, where the tomahawk and ſcalping knife were to be the warlike inſtruments employed as the engines of deſtruction, I am convinced there are many, ſome of whom I have in my eye [ſuppoſed to mean Lords Townſhend and Amherſt] who would with ardour and alacrity, accept of any command, where the

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the true honour, intereſt, and ſafety of their country were concerned. My Lords, the moment is arrived when this ſpirit ſhould be exerted. Gibraltar is garriſoned by Hanoverians. I am told, if any accident ſhould happen to the preſent commanding officer there, that the care of the fortreſs, and the command of the troops, would devolve on a foreigner. I do not recollect his name, but this is my information; and if I do not hear it contradicted, I muſt take it for granted. I am well authoriſed to ſay, my Lords, that ſuch is the preſent defenceleſs ſtate of Gibraltar, that there is not a ſecond relief in caſe of an attack; not men ſufficient to man the works, while thoſe fatigued with ſervice and watching, go to refreſh, eat, or ſleep; though Germany and the wilds of America have been ranſacked for the purpoſe.

'My Lords, we ſhould not want men in a good cauſe; and nothing ought to be left untried to procure them. I remember, ſoon after the period I ſhall take the liberty to remind your Lordſhips of, after an unnatural rebellion had been extinguiſhed in the northern part of this iſland, men not fighting for liberty, or the conſtitution of their coun-

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try, but professedly to annihilate both, as advocates for popery, slavery, and arbitrary power; not like our brethren in America, Whigs in principle, and heroes in conduct: I remember, I say, my Lords, that I employed these very rebels in the service and defence of their country. They were reclaimed by this means; they fought our battles; they cheerfully bled in defence of those liberties which they attempted to overthrow but a few years before. What, then, does your Lordships imagine would be the effect of a similar conduct towards the Whigs and freemen of America, whom you call rebels? Would it not, think you, operate in like manner? They would fight your battles; they would cheerfully bleed for you; they would render you superior to all your foreign enemies; they would bear your arms triumphant to every quarter of the globe. You have, I fear, lost the affection, the good will of this people, by employing mercenary Germans to butcher them; by spiriting up the savages of America to scalp them with the tomahawk. My Lords, I would have you consider, should this war be pushed to extremities, the possible consequences. It is no farther from America to England than from

from England to America. If conqueſt is to be the iſſue, we muſt truſt to that iſſue, and fairly abide by it.

'The noble Earl at the head of the Admiralty, the laſt night I had the honour to addreſs your Lordſhips, contradicted me when I aſſerted we had not above twenty ſhips of the line fit to proceed to ſea (on actual ſervice) at a ſhort warning. I again repeat the aſſertion, though I gave it up at that time, on account of the plauſibility and confidence with which the fact was aſſerted. I now ſay, there are not above twenty ſhips of the line, on which any naval officer of eminence and ſkill in his profeſſion would ſtake his credit. The noble Earl in office ſaid, there were thirty-five ſhips of the line fit for ſea; but acknowledged, that there was a deficiency of near three thouſand of the complements neceſſary to proceed upon actual ſervice. How did the noble Earl propoſe to fill up that deficiency?—By ſupernumeraries, by transfers, by recruits, &c. Will the noble Earl ſay, that twenty-one thouſand is a full war complement for thirty five ſhips of the line? or will he undertake to aſſure this Houſe (even allowing for thoſe odds and ends)

CHAP. XLIV. 1777. ends) that the ſhips will be properly manned by the numbers now actually on board? But if every particular fact, ſtated by the noble Earl, be preciſely as he would perſuade your Lordſhips to believe; will his Lordſhip pretend to affirm, that thirty-five ſhips of the line, or even forty-two (the higheſt that his Lordſhip ventured to go) would, in caſe of a rupture with the Houſe of Bourbon, be ſufficient for all the purpoſes of offence, defence and protection? I am ſure his Lordſhip will not. A fleet in the Channel; one in the Weſtern ſea; another in the Weſt Indies; and one in the Mediterranean; beſides convoys and cruizers, to protect our commerce and annoy our enemies. I ſay, my Lords, that thirty-five ſhips of the line would be neceſſary for the protection of our trade and fortreſſes in the Mediterranean alone. We muſt be equal to the combined force of France and Spain in that ſea, or we need not ſend a ſingle ſhip there. Ships muſt be ſtationed to command reſpect from the powers on the coaſt of Barbary, and to prevent their piracies on our merchant veſſels. We muſt have a ſuperior fleet in the Weſtern ſea likewiſe, and we muſt have one in the

Channel

Channel equal to the defence of our own coast. CHAP. XLIV. 1777.

'These were the ideas which prevailed, when I had the honour of assisting in the British councils, and at all other preceding periods of naval hostility since the Revolution. My Lords, if Lord *Anson* was capable of the high office the noble Earl now presides in, the noble Earl is certainly mistaken in saying, that thirty-five or fifty-five ships of the line are equal to the several services now enumerated. That great naval commander gave in a list, at one time, of eighty-four thousand seamen actually on the books. It is well worthy your Lordship's inquiry, to know what are the present number. The motion made by the noble Duke leads to that inquiry, and meets my warmest approbation; but that we may have every necessary information, I recommend to my noble friend to amend his motion by extending it to Gibraltar and Mahon. I do not wish to have any thing disclosed at present, which may tend to expose the weak state of those fortresses; but I think it incumbent on your Lordships to learn their strength, in point of numbers of men; and to know how

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how the fact ftands, relative to the poffibility of the command of Gibraltar devolving on a foreigner, in cafe of any accident happening to the officer who now commands there.'

The motion was agreed to.

On the capture of General Burgoyne's army.

On the fifth day of December, in confequence of intelligence having arrived of the capture of General *Burgoyne*'s army, Lord *Chatham* went to the Houfe of Lords to make a motion upon that fubject, which he introduced with remarking, 'That the King's fpeech at the opening of the feffion conveyed a general information of the meafures intended to be purfued; and looked forward to the probable occurrences which might be fuppofed to happen. He had that fpeech now in his hand, and a deep fenfe of the public calamity in his heart. They would both co-operate to inforce and juftify the meafure he meant to propofe. He was forry to fay, the fpeech contained a very unfaithful picture of the ftate of public affairs. This affertion was unqueftionable; not a noble Lord in Adminiftration would dare rife, and even fo much as controvert

the ſact. The ſpeech held out a ſpecious outſide---was full of hopes; yet it was maniſeſt, that every thing within and without, foreign and domeſtic, was full of danger, and calculated to inſpire the moſt melancholy forebodings. His Lordſhip hoped, that this ſudden call for their Lordſhips' attention, would be imputed to its true motive, a deſire of obtaining their aſſiſtance in ſuch a ſeaſon of difficulty and danger; a ſeaſon in which, he would be bold to maintain, a ſingle moment was not to be loſt. It was cuſtomary, he ſaid, for that Houſe to offer an addreſs of condolance to his Majeſty upon any public misfortune, as well as one of congratulation, on any public ſucceſs. If this was the uſage of Parliament, he never recollected a period, at which, ſuch an addreſs became more ſeaſonable or neceſſary than at preſent. If what was acknowledged in the other Houſe was true, he was aſtoniſhed, that ſome public notice was not taken of the ſad, the melancholy diſaſter.--- The report was, the fact was acknowledged by perſons in high authority, [Lords *Germain* and *North*] that General *Burgoyne* and his army were ſurrounded, and obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war to the

CHAP. XLIV. 1777. the Provincials. He ſhould take the account of this calamitous event, as now ſtated, and argue upon it as a matter univerſally allowed to be true. He then lamented the fate of Mr. *Burgoyne* in the moſt pathetic terms; and ſaid, that gentleman's character, the glory of the Britiſh arms, and the deareſt intereſts of this undone, diſgraced country had been all ſacrificed to the ignorance, temerity, and incapacity of Miniſters. Appearances, he obſerved, were indeed dreadful; he was not ſufficiently informed to decide on the extent of the numerous evils with which we were ſurrounded; but they were clearly ſufficient to give juſt cauſe of alarm to the moſt confident or callous heart. He ſpoke with great candour of General *Burgoyne:* he might, or might not, be an able officer; but by every thing he could learn, his fate was not proportioned to his merit: he might have received orders it was not in his power to execute. Neither ſhould he condemn Miniſters; they might have inſtructed him wiſely; he might have executed his inſtructions faithfully and judiciouſly, and yet he might have miſcarried. There are many events which the greateſt human foreſight cannot provide againſt; it was on

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that ground, therefore, he meant to frame his motion. The fact was acknowledged; the General had miscarried. It might not have been his fault; it might not be that of his employers or instructors. To know where the fault lay, he was desirous of having the orders given to General *Burgoyne*, laid before the House. So much of the plan at home, had, however, transpired, as justified him in affirming that the measures were founded in weakness, barbarity and inhumanity. Savages had been employed to carry ruin and devastation among our subjects in America. The tomahawk and scalping-knife were put into the hands of the most brutal and ferocious of the human species. Was this honourable war? Was it the means which God and Nature [alluding to what had fallen from Lord *Suffolk* on the opening of the session] put into the hands of Englishmen, to assert their rights over our colonies, and to procure their obedience, and conciliate their affection? His Lordship spoke in the most pointed terms of the system introduced within the last fifteen years at St. James's: of breaking all public and family connection, of extinguishing all public and private principle. A few men had got

CHAP. XLIV. 1777. got an afcendency, where no man fhould have a perfonal afcendency; by the executive powers of the State being at their command, they had been furnifhed with the means of creating divifions. This brought pliable men, not capable men, into the higheft and moft refponfible fituations; and to fuch men was the government of this once glorious empire now entrufted. The fpirit of delufion had gone forth; the Minifters had impofed on the people; Parliament had been induced to fanctify the impofition; falfe lights had been held out to the country gentlemen: they had been feduced into the fupport of a moft deftructive war, under the impreffion, that the Land Tax would be diminifhed, by the means of an American revenue. The vifionary phantom, thus conjured up for the bafeft of all purpofes, that of deception, was now about to vanifh. He condemned the contents of the fpeech in the bittereft terms of reproach. He faid it abounded with abfurdity and contradiction. In one part it recommended vigorous meafures, pointing to conqueft, or unconditional fubmiffion; while in another, it pretended to fay, that peace was the real object, as foon as the deluded multitude fhould

ſhould return to their allegiance. This, his Lordſhip contended, was the groſſeſt and moſt inſolent deluſion. It was by this ſtrange mixture of firmneſs, and pretended candour, of cruelty and mercy, juſtice and iniquity, that this infatuated nation had been all along miſled.

'His Lordſhip returned to the ſituation of General *Burgoyne*, and paid him, indeed, very high compliments. He ſaid, his abilities were confeſſed; his perſonal bravery not ſurpaſſed; his zeal in the ſervice unqueſtionable. He experienced no peſtilence, nor ſuffered any of the accidents which ſometimes ſuperſede the moſt wiſe and ſpirited exertions of human induſtry. What then, ſays his Lordſhip, is the great cauſe of his misfortune? Want of wiſdom in our Council, want of ability in our Miniſters. His Lordſhip laid the whole blame on Miniſters: it was their duty to ſhield that ill-treated officer from the temporary obloquy he muſt ſuffer under, till he had an opportunity to juſtify himſelf in perſon. His motion bore no perſonal relation to the conduct of that able, but abuſed officer; it was meant to be ſolely pointed to draw forth

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CHAP. XLIV. 1777. those instructions, which were the cause of his defeat and captivity. General *Burgoyne* was subject to the events of war; so was every other man who bore a command in time of war; for his part, when he was in office, he never attempted to cover his own incapacity, by throwing the blame on others; on the contrary, he gave them every support and becoming countenance in his power.

'His Lordship condemned the plan of operations, which he insisted was sent from hence; that of penetrating into the Colonies from Canada. It was a most wild, uncombined, and mad project; it was full of difficulty; and though success had declared in our favour, would have been a wanton waste of blood and treasure. He next animadverted on the mode of carrying on the war, which he said was the most bloody, barbarous, and ferocious, recorded in the annals of mankind. He contrasted the fame and renown we gained the last war with the feats and disgraces of the present; then, he said, we arrived at the highest pinnacle of glory; now we had sullied and tarnished the arms of Britain for ever, by employing savages

in

in our ſervice, by drawing them up in a Britiſh line, and mixing the ſcalping-knife and tomahawk with the ſword and firelock. The horror he felt was ſo great, that had it fallen to his lot to ſerve in an army where ſuch cruelty was permitted, he believed in his conſcience he would ſooner mutiny than conſent to ſerve with ſuch barbarians. Such a mode of warfare was, in his opinion, a contamination, a pollution of our national character, a ſtigma which all the water of the rivers Delaware and Hudſon would never waſh away; it would rankle in the breaſt of America, and ſink ſo deep into it, that he was almoſt certain they would never forget nor forgive the horrid injury.

'His Lordſhip obſerved, that ſimilar inſtructions relative to the Indians had been imputed to him. He diſclaimed the leaſt recollection of having given any ſuch inſtructions; and in order to aſcertain the matter, ſo as to remove any ground of future altercation on the ſubject, he called upon Adminiſtration to produce the orders, if any ſuch had been given.

CHAP. XLIV. 1777.

'We had, he ſaid, ſwept every corner of Germany for men: we had ſearched the darkeſt wilds of America for the ſcalping-knife. But thoſe bloody meaſures being as weak as they were wicked, he recommended that inſtant orders might be ſent to call home the firſt, and diſband the other---indeed, to withdraw our troops entirely; for peace, he was certain, would never be effected, as long as the German bayonet and Indian ſcalping-knife were threatened to be buried in the bowels of our American brethren. Such an expectation was abſurd, mad, and fooliſh. The Colonies muſt conſider us as friends, before they will ever conſent to treat with us: a formal acknowledgment of our errors, and a renunciation of our unjuſt, ill-founded, and oppreſſive claims, muſt precede every the leaſt attempt to conciliate. He declared himſelf an avowed enemy to American independency. He was a Whig; and though he utterly from his heart abhorred the ſyſtem of government endeavoured to be carried into execution in America, he as earneſtly and zealouſly contended for a Whig government, and a Whig connection between both countries, founded in

in a conſtitutional dependence and ſubordination. CHAP. XLIII. 1777.

'His Lordſhip recurred to the melancholy momentous ſituation of public affairs in general. He ſaid, America was loſt, even by the accounts which Adminiſtration in the Gazette had thought proper to impart. General *Waſhington* proved himſelf three times an abler general than Sir *William Howe*; for, with a force much inferior in number, and infinitely inferior in every other reſpect, as aſſerted from an authority not to be queſtioned (Lord *Germaine*) he had been able to baffle every attempt of ours, and left us in ſuch a ſituation, that if not aſſiſted by our fleet, our troops in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia muſt probably ſhare the ſame unhappy fate with thoſe under General *Burgoyne*. He condemned the motives of the war in the moſt pointed and energetic expreſſions, and the conduct of it in ſtill ſtronger; and compared the ſituation of this country to that brought on his dominions by the Duke of *Burgundy*, ſurnamed the Bold.---A Prince of the Houſe of Savoy had his property ſeized by him; the injured Prince would not ſubmit; war was deter-

CHAP. XLIV. 1777. determined on; and the object ſtrongly reſembled the paltry pretence on which we had armed, and had carried fire, ſword, and devaſtation, through every corner of America. The ſeizure was about a cargo of ſkins; he would have them, but the Prince of Saumur would not ſubmit. The Duke was conjured not to go to war; but he perſiſted: "he was determined ſteadily to purſue the ſame meaſures:" he marched againſt "the deluded multitue:" but at laſt gave one inſtance of his magnanimity, by imputing his misfortunes to his own obſtinacy; "becauſe," ſaid he, "this was owing to my not ſubmitting to be well adviſed.' The caſe of the Duke of *Burgundy* was applicable to England. Miniſters had undertaken a raſh enterprize, without wiſdom to plan, or ability to execute.

'What had occaſioned ſince laſt war, the riſe in the value of Engliſh eſtates? America, which he now feared was for ever loſt. She had been the great ſupport of this country; ſhe had produced millions; ſhe afforded ſoldiers and ſailors; ſhe had given our manufacturers employment, and enriched our merchants. The gentlemen of landed pro-

perty

perty would probably feel this; for, when commerce fails, when new burdens are incurred, when the means by which thoſe burdens were lightened are no more, the land owner will feel the double preſſure of heavy taxes: he will find them doubled in the firſt inſtance, and his rents proportionably decreaſed. But what had we ſacrificed all thoſe advantages for? In purſuit of a pepper-corn! And how did we treat America? Petitions rejected—complaints unanſwered—dutiful repreſentations treated with contempt—an attempt to eſtabliſh deſpotiſm on the ruins of conſtitutional liberty—meaſures to enforce taxation by the point of the ſword. Miniſters had inſidiouſly betrayed us into a war; and what were the fruits of it? Let the ſad cataſtrophe which had befallen Mr. *Burgoyne* ſpeak the ſucceſs.

' In the courſe of his ſpeech, he adverted to the language and Tory doctrine held in print, and in that houſe, by a moſt reverend Prelate: and, he truſted, he ſhould yet ſee the day, when thoſe pernicious doctrines would be deemed libellous, and treated as ſuch. They were the doctrines of *Atterbury* and *Sacheverel*. As a Whig, he ſhould never

CHAP. XLIV. 1777. endure them; and doubted not, the author or authors would suffer that degree of censure and punishment they were justly entitled to.

'After recommending measures of peace instead of measures of blood, and promising to co-operate in every measure that might promise to put a stop to the effusion of the one, and to promote the other, which might still prove the means of once more uniting our Colonies to us, his Lordship moved, "That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, most humbly beseeching his Majesty that he will be graciously pleased to order the proper officers to lay before this House copies of all orders and instructions to Lieutenant General *Burgoyne* relative to that part of his Majesty's forces in America under his command.'

His Motion on the employment of the Indians.

The motion was negatived. After which Lord *Chatham* moved, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, most humbly beseeching his Majesty that he would be graciously pleased to order the proper officers to lay before this House all orders and treaties relative to the employment

ment of Indians in conjunction with the British troops against the inhabitants of the British Colonies in North America, with a copy of the instructions given by General *Burgoyne* to Colonel *St. Leger.*"

Lord *Gower* having opposed this motion with vehemence and acrimony, Lord *Chatham* rose, 'and reproached the noble Lord with petulance and malignant misrepresentation. He denied that Indians had ever been employed by him; they might have crept into the service, from the utility which the officers found in them when they were engaged in some particular enterprises in unexplored places; but they were never employed by the late King (GEORGE II.) who, he said had too much regard for the military dignity of his people, and also too much humanity, to agree to such a proposal, had it ever been made to him. And he called upon Lord *Amherst* to declare the truth.'

Lord *Amherst* reluctantly owned, that Indians had been employed on both sides; the French employed them first, he said, and we followed the example.

On

CHAP. XLIV. 1777.

On the 11th day of December 1777, a motion was made to adjourn to the 20th of January 1778. This long adjournment was opposed by Lord *Chatham*. He said,

His speech against the motion to adjourn.

'It is not with less grief than astonishment I hear the motion now made by the noble Earl, at a time when the affairs of this country present, on every side, prospects full of awe, terror, and impending danger; when, I will be bold to say, events of a most alarming tendency, little expected or foreseen, will shortly happen; when a cloud, that may crush this nation, and bury it in destruction for ever, is ready to burst and overwhelm us in ruin. At so tremendous a season, it does not become your Lordships, the great hereditrary council of the nation, to neglect your duty; to retire to your country seats for six weeks, in quest of joy and merriment, while the real state of public affairs calls for grief, mourning, and lamentation, at least, for the fullest exertions of your wisdom. It is your duty, my Lords, as the grand hereditary council of the nation, to advise your Sovereign—to be the protectors of your country—to feel your own weight and authority. As here-

hereditary counſellors, as members of this houſe, you ſtand between the crown and the people; you are nearer the throne than the other branch of the legiſlature, it is your duty to ſurround and protect, to counſel and ſupplicate it; you hold the balance, your duty is to ſee that the weights are properly poiſed, that the balance remains even, that neither may encroach on the other; and that the executive power may be prevented, by an unconſtitutional exertion of even conſtitutional authority, from bringing the nation to deſtruction. My Lords, I fear we are arrived at the very brink of that ſtate; and I am perſuaded, that nothing ſhort of a ſpirited interpoſition on your part, in giving ſpeedy and wholeſome advice to your Sovereign, can prevent the people from feeling beyond remedy the full effects of that ruin which Miniſters have brought upon us. Theſe are the calamitous circumſtances, Miniſters have been the cauſe of; and ſhall we, in ſuch a ſtate of things, when every moment teems with events productive of the moſt fatal narratives—ſhall we truſt, during an adjournment of ſix weeks, to thoſe men who have brought thoſe calamities upon us, when, perhaps, our utter overthrow

CHAP. XLIV. 1777. throw is plotting, nay, ripe for execution, without almoſt a poſſibility of prevention? Ten thouſand brave men have fallen victims to ignorance and raſhneſs. The only army you have in America may, by this time, be no more. This very nation remains no longer ſafe than its enemies think proper to permit. I do not augur ill. Events of a moſt critical nature may take place before our next meeting. Will your Lordſhips, then, in ſuch a ſtate of things, truſt to the guidance of men, who, in every ſingle ſtep of this cruel, this wicked war, from the very beginning, have proved themſelves weak, ignorant, and miſtaken? I will not ſay, my Lords, nor do I mean any thing perſonal, or that they have brought premeditated ruin on this country. I will not ſuppoſe that they foreſaw what has ſince happened; but I do contend, my Lords, that their guilt (I will not ſuppoſe it guilt), but their want of wiſdom, their incapacity, their temerity in depending on their own judgment, or their baſe compliances with the orders and dictates of others, perhaps cauſed by the influence of one or two individuals, have rendered them totally unworthy of your Lordſhips' confidence, of the confidence of

of Parliament, and of thoſe whoſe rights they are the conſtitutional guardians of, the people at large. A remonſtrance, my Lords, ſhould be carried to the throne. The King has been deluded by his Miniſters. They have been impoſed upon by falſe information, or have, from motives beſt known to themſelves, given apparent credit to what they were convinced in their hearts was untrue. The nation has been betrayed into the ruinous meaſure of an American war, by the arts of impoſition, by their own credulity, through the means of falſe hopes, falſe pride, and promiſed advantages, of the moſt romantic and improbable nature. My Lords, I do not wiſh to call your attention entirely to that point. I would fairly appeal to your own ſentiments, whether I can be juſtly charged with arrogance or preſumption, if I ſaid, great and able as Miniſters think themſelves, that all the wiſdom of the nation is confined to the narrow circle of the petty cabinet. I might, I think, without preſumption, ſay, that your Lordſhips, as one of the branches of the legiſlature, may be as capable of adviſing your Sovereign, in the moment of difficulty and danger, as any leſſer council, compoſed of [illegible] a fewer

CHAP. XLIV. 1777. a fewer number; and who, being already ſo fatally truſted, have betrayed a want of of honeſty, or a want of talents. Is it, my Lords, within the utmoſt ſtretch of the moſt ſanguine expectation, that the ſame men who have plunged you into your preſent perilous and calamitous ſituation, are the proper perſons to reſcue you from it? No, my Lords, ſuch an expectation would be prepoſterous and abſurd. I ſay, my Lords, you are now ſpecially called upon to interpoſe. It is your duty to forego every call of buſineſs and pleaſure; to give up your whole time to inquire into paſt miſconduct; to provide remedies for the preſent; to prevent future evils; to *reſt on your arms*, if I may uſe the expreſſion, to watch for the public ſafety; to defend and ſupport the throne; and, if fate ſhould ſo ordain it, to fall with becoming fortitude with the reſt of your fellow-ſubjects in the general ruin. I fear this laſt muſt be the event of this mad, unjuſt, and cruel war. It is your Lordſhips duty to do every thing in your power that it ſhall not; but, if it muſt be ſo, I truſt your Lordſhips and the nation will fall glorioully.

'My

'My Lords, as the firſt and moſt immediate object of your enquiry, I would recommend to you to conſider the true ſtate of our home defence. We have heard much from a noble Lord in this Houſe, of the ſtate of our navy. I cannot give an implicit belief to what I have heard on that important ſubject. I ſtill retain my former opinion relative to the number of line of battle ſhips; but as an enquiry into the real ſtate of the navy is deſtined to be the ſubject of a future conſideration, I do not wiſh to hear more about it, till that period arrives. I allow, in argument, that we have thirty-five ſhips of the line fit for actual ſervice. I doubt much whether ſuch a force would give us a full command of the Channel. I am certain, if it did, every other part of our poſſeſſions muſt lie naked and defenceleſs, in every quarter of the globe. I fear our utter deſtruction is at hand. [Here and in many other parts of his ſpeech, his Lordſhip broadly hinted, that the Houſe of Bourbon was meditating ſome important and deciſive blow near home.] What, my Lords, is the ſtate of our military defence? I would not wiſh to expoſe our preſent weakneſs; but weak as we are, if this war ſhould be continued,

CHAP. XLIV. 1777. tinued, as the public declaration of perfons in high confidence with their Sovereign would induce us to fuppofe, is this nation to be entirely ftripped? And if it fhould, would every foldier now in Britain be fufficient to give us an equality to the force in America? I will maintain they would not. Where, then, will men be procured? Recruits are not to be had in this country. Germany will give no more. I have read in the newfpapers of this day, and I have reafon to believe it to be true, that the head of the Germanic body has remonftrated againft it, and has taken meafures accordingly to prevent it. Minifters have, I hear, applied to the Swifs Cantons. The idea is prepofterous! The Swifs never permit their troops to go beyond fea. But, my Lords, if even men were to be procured in Germany, how will you march them to the water-fide? Have not our Minifters applied for the port of Embden, and has it not been refufed? I fay, you will not be able to procure men even for your home-defence, if fome immediate fteps be not taken. I remember during the laft war, it was thought adviseable to levy independent companies: they were, when completed, formed into batta-

battalions, and proved of great ſervice. I love the army, I know its uſe; but I muſt nevertheleſs own, that I was a great friend to the meaſure of eſtabliſhing a national militia. I remember the laſt war, that there were three camps formed of that corps, at once in this kingdom. I ſaw them myſelf; one at Wincheſter, another in the Weſt at Plymouth; and a third, if I recollect right, at Chatham. [Told he was right]. Whether the militia is at preſent in ſuch a ſtate as to anſwer the valuable purpoſes it did then, or is capable of being rendered ſo, I will not pretend to ſay; but I ſee no reaſon, why in ſuch a critical ſtate of affairs, the experiment ſhould not be made; and why it may not be put again on the former reſpectable footing. I remember, all the circumſtances conſidered, when appearances were not nearly ſo melancholy and alarming as they now are, that there were more troops in the county of Kent alone, for the defence of that County, than there are now in the whole iſland.

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'My Lords, I contend, that we have not, nor can procure, any force ſufficient to ſubdue America. It is monſtrous to think of it.

 There

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There are several noble Lords present, well acquainted with military affairs. I call upon any one of them to rise and pledge himself, that the military force now within the kingdom is adequate to its defence, or that any possible force to be procured from Germany, Switzerland, or elsewhere, will be equal to the conquest of America. I am too perfectly persuaded of their abilities and integrity, to expect any such assurance from them. Oh! but if America is not to be conquered, she is to be treated with. Conciliation is at length thought of; terms are to be offered. Who are the persons that are to treat on the part of this afflicted and deluded country? The very men who have been the authors of our misfortunes: the very men who have endeavoured, by the most pernicious policy, the highest injustice and oppression, the most cruel and devastating war, to enslave those people; they would conciliate to gain the confidence and affection of those, who have survived the Indian tomahawk, and the German bayonet. Can your Lordships entertain the most distant prospect of success from such a treaty, and such negotiators? No, my Lords, the Americans have virtue, and they must detest the principles of

of ſuch men; they have underſtanding, and too much wiſdom, to truſt to the cunning and narrow politics which muſt cauſe ſuch overtures on the part of their mercileſs perſecutors. My Lords, I maintain, that they would ſhun, with a mixture of prudence and deteſtation, any propoſition coming from that quarter. They would receive terms from ſuch men, as ſnares to allure and betray. They would dread them as ropes, meant to be put about their legs to entangle and overthrow them in certain ruin.

'My Lords, ſuppoſing that our domeſtic danger, if at all, is far diſtant; that our enemies will leave us at liberty to proſecute this war with the utmoſt of our ability; ſuppoſe your Lordſhips ſhould grant a fleet one day, an army another; all theſe, I do affirm, will avail nothing, unleſs you accompany it with advice. Miniſters have been in error; experience has proved it; and what is worſe, they continue in it. They told you in the beginning, that 15,00 men would traverſe America, without ſcarcely the appearance of interruption; two campaigns have paſſed ſince they gave us this aſſurance. Treble that number has been employed; and one

CHAP. XLIV. 1777. of your armies, which composed two-thirds of the force by which America was to be subdued, has been totally destroyed, and is now led captive through those provinces you call rebellious. Those men whom you called cowards, paltroons, runaways, and knaves, are become victorious over your veteran troops; and in the midst of victory, and flush of conquest, have set Ministers the example of moderation and of magnanimity worthy imitation.

'My Lords, no time should be lost which may promise to improve this disposition in America; unless, by an obstinacy founded in madness, we wish to stifle those embers of affection which, after all our savage treatment, do not seem as yet to have been entirely extinguished. While on one side we must lament the unhappy fate of that spirited officer, Mr. *Burgoyne*, and the gallant troops under his command, who were sacrificed to the wanton temerity and ignorance of Ministers, we are as strongly impelled on the other to admire and applaud the generous, magnanimous conduct, the noble friendship, brotherly affection and humanity of the victors, who condescending to impute the

the horrid orders of maſſacre and devaſtation to their true authors, ſuppoſed, that as ſoldiers and Engliſhmen, thoſe cruel exceſſes could not have originated with the General, nor were conſonant to the brave and humane ſpirit of a Britiſh ſoldier, if not compelled to it as an act of duty. They traced the firſt cauſe of thoſe diabolical orders to their ſource; and, by that wiſe and generous interpretation, granted their profeſſed deſtroyers terms of capitulation, which they could be only entitled to as the makers of fair and honourable war. CHAP. XLIV. 1777.

'My Lords, I ſhould not have preſumed to trouble you, if the tremendous ſtate of this nation did not, in my opinion, make it neceſſary. Such as I have this day deſcribed it to be, I do maintain it is. The ſame meaſures are ſtill perſiſted in; and Miniſters, becauſe your Lordſhips have been deluded, deceived and miſled, preſume, that whenever the worſt comes, they will be enabled to ſhelter themſelves behind Parliament. This, my Lords, cannot be the caſe: they have committed themſelves and their meaſures to the fate of war, and they muſt abide the iſſue. I tremble for this country; I am

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almoſt led to deſpair, that we ſhall ever be able to extricate ourſelves. Whether or not, the day of retribution is at hand, when the vengeance of a much injured and afflicted people will, I truſt, fall heavily on the authors of their ruin; and I am ſtrongly inclined to believe, that before the day to which the propoſed adjournment ſhall arrive, the noble Earl who moved it will have juſt cauſe to repent of his motion.'

The motion of adjournment was agreed to.

CHAP. XLV.

Lord Chatham's zeal and anxiety respecting America—His last Speech in Parliament—His last plan to preserve America—His sudden illness in the House of Lords.

NOTWITHSTANDING a negative had been put upon every proposition and motion made by Lord *Chatham*, concerning America, yet he resolved to persevere in the same line of conduct. To his zeal in this cause he sacrificed his life. He had not strength of constitution sufficient to bear the exertions he made. He was now advanced in the seventieth year of his age; had for many years suffered the severest pains of the gout; but possessing talents superior to most men, he felt with the sharpest sensibility, the progress of events, which passed with indifference before the eyes of other men, who had not his penetration: although debilitated by infirmity, and enervated by anguish of body and mind, still he refused to yield to the calls of his disorder, or to mitigate his torture, by the

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Lord Chatham's zeal and anxiety respecting America.

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indulgence of a bed—while his country was bleeding at every pore, he felt for her, not for himſelf. Her honour and ſplendour had been his glory and his pride—her debaſement and adverſity were now the only ſubjects of his concern and anxiety*.

His laſt Speech in Parliament.

On the 7th day of April 1778, the Duke of *Richmond* having moved to preſent an Addreſs to the King on the ſubject of the ſtate of the nation, in which *the neceſſity of admitting the Independence of America was inſinuated,* Lord *Chatham* roſe to ſpeak again on this ſubject.

'He began by lamenting that his bodily infirmities had ſo long, and eſpecially at ſo important a criſis, prevented his attendance on the duties of Parliament. He declared that he had made an effort almoſt beyond the powers of his conſtitution to come down to the Houſe on this day (perhaps the laſt time he ſhould ever be able to enter its walls) to

* At, or near, the beginning of this year, a very extraordinary negotiation was attempted to be opened with Lord Chatham, through the Channels of Sir James Wright and Dr. Addington; the particulars of which the reader will find in the Appendix A A.

expreſs

exprefs the indignation he felt at an idea which he underftood was gone forth, of yielding up the fovereignty of America! CHAP. XLV. 1778.

'My Lords, continued he, I rejoice that the grave has not clofed upon me; that I am ftill alive to lift up my voice againft the difmemberment of this ancient and moft noble monarchy! Preffed down as I am by the hand of infirmity, I am little able to affift my country in this moft perilous conjuncture; but, my Lords, while I have fenfe and memory, I will never confent to deprive the royal offspring of the Houfe of Brunfwick, the heirs of the Princefs Sophia, of their faireft inheritance. Where is the man that will dare to advife fuch a meafure? My Lords, his Majefty fucceeded to an empire as great in extent as its reputation was unfullied. Shall we tarnifh the luftre of this nation by an ignominious furrender of its rights and faireft poffeffions? Shall this great kingdom, that has furvived whole and entire the Danifh depredations, the Scottifh inroads, and the Norman conqueft; that has ftood the threatened invafion of the Spanifh armada, now fall proftrate before the Houfe of Bourbon? Surely, my Lords, this nation

is

CHAP. XLV. 1778.

is no longer what it was! Shall a people, that ſeventeen years ago was the terror of the world, now ſtoop ſo low as to tell its ancient inveterate enemy, take all we have, only give us peace? It is impoſſible!

'I wage war with no man, or ſet of men. I wiſh for none of their employments; nor would I co-operate with men who ſtill perſiſt in unretracted error; or who, inſtead of acting on a firm deciſive line of conduct, halt between two opinions, where there is no middle path. In God's name, if it is abſolutely neceſſary, to declare either for peace or war, and the former cannot be preſerved with honour, why is not the latter commenced without heſitation? I am not, I confeſs, well informed of the reſources of this kingdom; but I truſt it has ſtill ſufficient to maintain its juſt rights, though I know them not.—But, my Lords, any ſtate is better than deſpair. Let us at leaſt make one effort; and if we muſt fall, let us fall like men!'

When his Lordſhip ſat down, Lord *Temple* ſaid to him, "You have forgot to mention what we have been talking about—

Shall

Shall I get up?" Lord *Chatham* replied, "No, no; I will do it by and by." CHAP. XLV. 1778.

Ld. Chatham's last plan to preserve America.

The conversation to which Lord *Temple* alluded, related to the principle features of a plan, which Lord *Chatham* had formed with a view to effect the recovery of America. The first part of the plan was, to recommend to his Majesty, to take Duke *Ferdinand* of *Brunswick* immediately into his service. Lord *Chatham*'s design in this measure, was to make an impression, upon France on the Continent, in order to prevent her sending that assistance to the Americans, which he knew the French Court had promised.—Another part of the plan was, to recommend a Treaty of Union with the Americans—that America should make peace and war in concert with Great Britain; that she should hoist the British flag, and use the King's name in her Courts of Justice. His ideas went no further in this conversation. But he conceived an opinion, that when America saw the impossibility of deriving any assistance from France, the Congress would accept of these terms.

The

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The reader cannot but obſerve, that this plan is perfectly conſonant with his Lordſhip's former plan, which proved ſo eminently ſucceſsful in the late war—of conquering America by making a vigorous impreſſion upon France in Europe. He ſaw, that a war with France was become unavoidable: therefore, with his uſual penetration and ſpirit, he wiſhed to commence that war immediately, upon his own principles. He deteſted that procraſtination, which gave the enemy power, not only of chuſing the period of his conveniency, but the firſt ſcenes of operation*.

His ſudden illneſs in the Houſe of Lords.

The Duke of *Richmond* having ſpoken in anſwer to ſome parts of Lord *Chatham's*

* The war which France carried on in America in conjunction, with the United States, was infinitely more expenſive and injurious to England, than a war againſt France in Europe, would have been. That this is not an aſſertion founded in conjecture, may be ſeen by comparing the charges of the German war, during the years 1758, 1759, 1760, and 1761, with the charges of the American war, during the years 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781—excluſive of the arrears at the concluſion of each war. See this point mentioned in Chap. XVI.——It was a ſaying of Preſident *Henault*, author of the Hiſtory of France, that if there had been a ſucceſſion of ſuch Miniſters as the Duke of *Sully*, nothing could have withſtood the power of France. In imitation of which, it may be ſaid, with equal truth, that if there had been a ſucceſſion of ſuch Miniſters as Lord *Chatham*, nothing could have withſtood the power of Great Britain.

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ſpeech, his Lordſhip attemped to riſe, to reply to his Grace; but after two or three unſucceſsful efforts to ſtand, he fainted and fell down on his ſeat. The Duke of *Cumberland*, Lord *Temple*, Lord *Stamford*, and the other Lords near him, caught him in their arms. The Houſe was immediately cleared, and the windows were opened.—Dr. *Brockleſby* being in the Houſe, his aſſiſtance was inſtantly obtained. His Lordſhip was carried into an adjoining room, and the Houſe directly adjourned. CHAP. XLV. 1778.

This unhappy circumſtance proved the melancholy prelude of his death. As ſoon as poſſible, his Lordſhip was conveyed to his favourite villa at Hayes in Kent; where he was attended by his confidential phyſician, Dr. *Addington*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVI.

Lord Chatham's Death—The conduct of Parliament upon that event—Some traits of his Character.

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LORD CHATHAM's infirm and emaciated ſtate of body baffled every effort that ſkill and medicine could afford. The exertions he had lately made, had exhauſted his frame and conſtitution. He languiſhed at Hayes until the eleventh day of May, 1778, when he died; to the ſincere regret of every Britiſh ſubject, and of every perſon who had a juſt ſenſe of human dignity and virtue. Such a man appears but ſeldom.—Lord *Chatham* was a man of ſuch extraordinary talents, that he would have made a ſhining figure in any ſtation. Had he continued in the army, there is no doubt he would have died at the head of his corps, or have advanced to the head of his profeſſion. He was not born for ſubordination.

Ld. Chatham's death.

Intelligence

Intelligence of his death being ſent to London, Colonel *Barre*, the moment he heard it, haſtened to the Houſe of Commons, who were then ſitting, and communicated the melancholy information. Although it was an event, that had, in ſome meaſure, been expected for ſeveral days, yet the Houſe were affected with the deepeſt ſenſibility. Even the adherents of the Court joined in the general ſorrow, which was apparent in every countenance. The old Members indulged a fond remembrance of the energy and melody of his voice; his commanding eye, his graceful action. The new Members lamented, they ſhould hear no more the precepts of his experience, nor feel the powers of his eloquence. A deep grief prevailed. The public loſs was acknowledged on all ſides. Every one bore teſtimony to the abilities and virtues of the deceaſed. On this occaſion all appearance of party was extinguiſhed. There was but one ſenſe throughout the Houſe.

Colonel *Barre* moved, "That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, requeſting that his Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions that the remains of

William

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William Pitt, Earl of *Chatham*, be interred at the public expence; and that a monument be erected in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Weſtminſter, to the memory of that great and excellent Stateſman, and an inſcription expreſſive of the ſentiments of the people on ſo great and irreparable a loſs; and to aſſure his Majeſty that this Houſe would make good the expence attending the ſame."

While this Motion was reading, Lord *North* came into the Houſe, and as ſoon as he was informed of the buſineſs, he gave it his moſt hearty concurrence; lamenting that he had not come in ſooner, that he might have had the honour to have made the motion himſelf.

The motion was agreed to unanimouſly.

On the thirteenth day of May Lord *North* aſſured the Houſe, that his Majeſty had readily agreed to their addreſs, reſpecting the interment of the Earl of *Chatham*, and to the erection of a monument to his memory.

Lord *John Cavendiſh* ſaid, that he hoped the

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the public gratitude would not ſtop here. As that invaluable man, had, whilſt in the nation's ſervice, neglected his own affairs, and though he had the greateſt opportunity of enriching himſelf, had never made any proviſion for his family, he hoped an ample proviſion would be made for the deſcendants of ſo honeſt and able a Miniſter.

Lord *North* coincided warmly in the noble Lord's wiſh; and Lord *Nugent*, Mr. *Fox*, Mr. *Montagu*, Mr. *Byng*, and ſeveral other Gentlemen, expreſſed the moſt ſincere affection for the deceaſed Peer, and pronounced the higheſt eulogiums on his virtue and talents; adding, that he had neglected his private intereſts by directing his whole attention to national objects. Mr. T. *Townſhend*, now Lord *Sydney*, moved, That an humble addreſs be preſented to the King, expreſſing the wiſhes of the Houſe, that his Majeſty would confer ſome ſignal and laſting mark of his royal favour on the family of the deceaſed Earl, and that whatever bounty he ſhould think proper to beſtow, the Houſe would chearfully make good the ſame. The motion was agreed to unanimouſly.

 On

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On the twenty-firſt, Lord *North* delivered to the Houſe the following meſſage from the King.

GEORGE R.

"His Majeſty having conſidered the Addreſs of this Houſe, that he will be graciouſly pleaſed to confer ſome ſignal and laſting mark of his royal favour on the family of the late *William Pitt*, Earl of *Chatham* and being deſirous to comply as ſpeedily as poſſible with the requeſt of his faithful Commons, has given directions for granting to the preſent Earl of *Chatham*, and to the heirs of the body of the late *William Pitt*, to whom the Earldom of *Chatham* may deſcend, an annuity of four thouſand pounds per annum, payable out of the Civil Liſt revenue; but his Majeſty not having it in his power to extend the effect of the ſaid grant beyond the term of his own life, recommends it to the Houſe to conſider of a proper method of extending, ſecuring and annexing the ſame to the Earldom of *Chatham* in ſuch a manner as ſhall be moſt effectual for the benefit of the family of the ſaid *William Pitt*, Earl of *Chatham*."

GEORGE R.

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The meſſage was referred to the Committee of Supply; it was unanimouſly agreed to; upon which a Bill was brought in, and it paſſed unanimouſly alſo.

On the twenty ſecond day of May, the Houſe agreed to preſent another Addreſs to the King, requeſting his Majeſty to give orders, that twenty thouſand pounds be iſſued, for the payment of the debts of the late Right Hon. *William Pitt*, Earl of *Chatham*; and to aſſure his Majeſty, that the Houſe would make good the ſame. The requeſt was complied with, and included in the current ſervices of the year.

The particulars of the public funeral, and other circumſtances connected with it, as well as a number of papers concerning his Lordſhip's family, his character, the public monuments, &c. the reader will find in the Appendix B B.

There are ſome traits of his character, which are proper to be ſelected from the general eulogies, which are alſo in the Appendix.

CHAP. XVI. 1778. Character of Lord Chatham.

The Hiſtory of the Seven Years War, is the Hiſtory of his Adminiſtration. The dread of his name, and the fame of his ſpirit, infuſed alarm and vigour into all the belligerent powers. He contended, therefore with all their force.

The American Congreſs of 1774, in their Addreſs to the People of Great Britain, ſaid, "This war was rendered glorious by the "abilities and integrity of a Miniſter, to "whoſe efforts the Britiſh empire owes its "ſafety and its fame." The treaty of peace, which terminated that war, was a meaſure, which equally in the period of its execution, as well as in the terms of its conſtruction met with his ſincere and unalterable diſapprobation—His grand and his favourite plans for humbling the *whole* Houſe of Bourbon, for carrying the ſplendour and opulence of Great Britain to the higheſt degree of fame and wealth—were thereby fruſtrated and annihilated. The glory of the Miniſter, the honour of the Crown, the intereſt of the country, were all ſacrificed to the revenge of a faction; which ſeemed to acquire protection from the court, and increaſe of numbers from the profligate, in propor-

tion

tion to the increafe of the enormity, and perfidy of their crimes. CHAP. XLV. 1778.

His efforts to preferve America, even to the lateft moments of his life, indifputably manifeft his high opinion of the importance of that great continent. In more than one converfation he faid, America would prove a ftaff to fupport the aged arm of Britain—the Oak upon which fhe might hereafter recline, fhaded and protected by filial duty and affection. But his Majefty's *confidential* advifers wanted to cut down this Oak, and to plant their favourite weed, *unconditional fubmiffion*, in its place. In another age it may be admitted, that the Patriot was prophetic; that the Parricide was apparent.

He was the firft Englifh Minifter who armed the hardy race of the North. It is immaterial, whether he adopted the recommendation from the plan given in Chapter XIV;—the meafure fhewed the liberal and comprehenfive judgment of the Statefman. The North has ever been propitious to conqueft. The world has feen it in the prefent day, in the inftance of Ruffia lately pouring her legions againft the luxurious South

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—like the Goths againſt the Romans. He ſaw the advantage intuitively; and therefore brought this martial race of men from their cold abodes in the northern extremities of the iſland, and directed their ardour and fierceneſs againſt the enemies of his country.

In the exerciſe of his duty as a Miniſter, he was aſſiduous and inceſſant. He gave no hours to private or domeſtic intereſts. He had no levees, nor evening engagements: he devoted himſelf to the Public; and the nation poſſeſſed him entirely. His virtue and integrity were proverbial.

His whole ſtudy, his whole employment, his only attention, were the exaltation of his country, by the humiliation of her enemies. He grieved at the prohibition laid on the execution of his plans; and he died in an effort to preſerve the dominion of a Continent, he had in part acquired, and would have wholly ſecured to the Britiſh name for ver.

END OF VOLUME II.